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HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

OF

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

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By Dr. G. M. THEAL.

SERIES I.

HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI.

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE AT SOFALA IN SEPTEMBER, 1505, TO THE CONQUEST OF THE CAPE COLONY BY THE BRITISH IN SEPTEMBER, 1795.

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AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE AT SOFALA IN SEPTEMBER 1505 TO THE CONQUEST OF THE CAPE COLONY BY THE BRITISH IN SEPTEMBER 1795,

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IN THREE VOLUMES

WITH MAPS AND PLATES

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER XXI.

JAN VAN RIEBEEK, COMMANDER, LANDED IN SOUTH AFRICA 7TH APRIL 1652, RETIRED 6TH MAY 1662.

THE Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to visit the shores of South Africa, did not attempt either to form a settlement or to carry on commerce below Delagoa Bay, and a century and a half after their occupation of Sofala had never penetrated beyond the coast belt of any part of the present Cape Colony west of the Umzimvubu river. They were mere traders, and the Hottentots not only had nothing which they wanted to purchase, but were regarded by them as the most ferocious of savages, with whom communication should be avoided. The Dutch, who wrested from them the traffic of the East, for a long time had no thought of colonisation either, but from the entrance of these people in the Indian seas the south-western part of the African continent acquired an importance it never had before. The Portuguese ocean road was almost invariably west of Madagascar, consequently they did not need a refreshment station between St. Helena and Mozambique, but the Dutch, who passed south of the great island, required one at the turning point of the long sea journey between Holland and Batavia. Owing to this, their fleets were in the habit of putting into Table Bay for the purpose of obtaining news, taking in fresh water, catching fish, and trying to barter cattle from the Hottentots, which they were not always fortunate enough to procure.

On the 26th of July 1649 a document setting forth the advantages that might be derived from the occupation of Table Valley was presented to the directors of the Amsterdam chamber of the United Netherlands chartered East India Company. It was written by Leendert Jansz—or Janssen as the name would be spelt now,—and bore his signature and that of Nicolaas Proot. The style and wording of the document show that its author was a man of observation, but it contains no clue by which his position in the Company's service can be ascertained. He and Proot had resided in Table Valley more than five months, and they could therefore speak from experience of its capabilities.

The *Haarlem*, one of the finest of the Company's ships, had put into Table Bay for fresh water and whatever else could be obtained, and in a gale had been driven on the Blueberg beach. The strongly timbered vessel held together, and the crew succeeded in saving not only their own effects but the ship's stores and the cargo. The neighbourhood of the wreck was not a desirable site for a camping-ground, and therefore when the Company's goods were secured against the weather, and a small fort had been constructed in which a few soldiers could be left, Janssen and Proot with the rest of the crew removed to Table Valley. Close by a stream of pure sweet water, on a site somewhere near the centre of the present city of Capetown, they threw up a bank of earth for protection, and encamped within it.

They had saved some vegetable seeds and garden tools which chanced to be on board the wreck, and soon a plot of ground was placed under cultivation. Cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, onions, and various other vegetables throve as well as they had seen in any part of the world, and among them were men who had visited many lands. The Hottentots came in friendship to trade with them, and brought horned cattle and sheep in such numbers for sale that they were amply supplied with meat for themselves and had sufficient to spare for a ship that put in with eighty or ninety sick. Game in abundance fell under their guns, and fish was equally plentiful. They were here in spring and early

summer, when the climate is perhaps the most delightful in the world.

At length, after they had spent between five and six months very happily, the return fleet of 1648, under command of Wollebrant Geleynsen, put into Table Bay. The cargo of the *Haarlem* was conveyed to Salt River, and thence re-shipped for Europe. And when the fleet set sail, it bore away from South Africa men whose reminiscences were of a pleasant and fruitful land, in which they had enjoyed health and peace and plenty. The document which Janssen and Proot laid before the directors of the East India Company took its tone from their experience. It pointed out many and great advantages, and overlooked all difficulties in the way of forming a settlement in Table Valley. The author considered it beyond doubt that fruit trees of every kind would thrive as well as vegetables had done in the garden made by the *Haarlem's* crew, that horned cattle and sheep could be purchased in plenty, that cows could be bred and cheese and butter made, and that hogs could be reared and fattened in numbers sufficient to supply the needs of the Company's ships. Then there were birds to be shot, and fish to be caught, and salt to be gathered. He pointed out how little was to be had at St. Helena, and how necessary for the refreshment of the sick was a victualling station between the Netherlands and the sources of trade in the East. Already there was ample experience of the benefits derived by the purchase of a few head of cattle and the gathering of wild herbs at the Cape.

There were sources of wealth also. Whales put into Table Bay at times in shoals, and could easily be made prize of. Seals were to be had in hundreds, and their oil and skins were valuable. The hides of the large antelopes would also in time readily find a market. The sickness caused in getting fresh water, by the men being compelled to wade in the surf at all seasons of the year, was referred to, and, as a contrast, a jetty and wooden pipes were pointed out. The Hottentots were spoken of as a people indeed without

such institutions or forms of government as those of India, but peaceably disposed and capable of being taught. It was true that Netherlanders had sometimes been killed by them, but that was because other Europeans had taken their cattle by force. There was no doubt that they could learn the Dutch language, and in course of time could be educated in the Christian religion. Finally, the author expressed surprise that the enemies of the Netherlands had not already formed a settlement at the Cape, and with a small war fleet captured all of the Company's ships as they were about to pass.

The memorial of Janssen and Proot was referred by the chamber of Amsterdam to the supreme directory of the Company, who, after calling for the opinions of the other chambers, and finding them favourable, on the 30th of August 1650 resolved to establish such a victualling station as was proposed. The deputies at the Hague,* who were instructed to draw up a plan for this purpose, availed themselves further of the experience of Nicolaas Proot, who was then residing at Delft, and to whom the post of commander of the expedition was offered. On the 20th of the following March the supreme directory approved of the plan submitted by the deputies at the Hague, and the chamber of Amsterdam was empowered to put it in execution. Thus twenty months were occupied in discussion before anything else was done towards carrying out the project.

Five days later, instructions concerning the expedition were issued to the skippers of the ships *Dromedaris* and *Reiger*, and of the yacht *Goede Hoop*. These vessels, which were destined to bring the party of occupation to our shores, were then lying in the harbour of Amsterdam. The *Dromedaris*

* Four deputies from the chamber of Amsterdam, two from the chamber of Zeeland, and one from each of the small chambers formed a committee called the Haagsche Besoignes, whose duty it was to arrange documents for the assembly of seventeen. The Indian correspondence, in particular, was prepared by this body for submission to the supreme directory. The committee had no power to issue orders or instructions of any kind.

was one of those old-fashioned Indiamen with broad square sterns and poops nearly as high as their maintops, such as can be seen depicted upon the great seal of the Company. In size she was but a fourth rate. Like all of her class, she was fitted for war as well as for trade, and carried an armament of eighteen great guns. The *Reiger* was smaller, with only one deck, which was flush. She was armed also, but the number of her guns is not stated. The *Goede Hoop* was merely a large decked-boat, and was intended to remain at the Cape to perform any services that might be required of her.

The skippers were directed to proceed to Table Bay, and to construct close to the Fresh river a wooden building, the materials for which they were to take with them. They were then to select a suitable site for a fort, to contain space for the accommodation of seventy or eighty men, and to this fort when finished they were to give the name Good Hope. Four iron culverins were to be placed on each of its angles. As soon as they were in a condition to defend themselves, they were to take possession of sufficient rich and fertile ground for gardens, and also of suitable pasture land for cattle. The framework of some boats was to be taken out, and the boats when put together were to be employed in looking for passing ships and conducting them to the anchorage. All this being accomplished, the ships were to proceed to Batavia, leaving seventy men at the Cape. These men were to pay special attention to the cultivation of the gardens, so that the object might be attained for which the settlement was intended, which was to provide the crews of the Company's fleets with refreshments. They were to take care not to injure any of the Hottentot inhabitants in their persons or their cattle, but were to endeavour to gain their attachment by friendly treatment. A diary of all events was to be kept, and enquiries were to be made for anything that could tend to reduce the expense or be of profit to the Company. A copy of the document signed by Janssen and Proot was annexed to these instructions for the guidance of the expedition.

Nicolaas Proot having declined the offer of the directors, they selected as the head of the settlement about to be formed in South Africa an officer who had been previously a surgeon in their service. His name, according to modern spelling, was Jan van Riebeek, but he himself wrote it Johan van Riebeeck, and it is found in the records of his time also spelt Riebeecq and Rietbeeck, the last of which forms shows the origin of the word. A ship's surgeon of those days was required to possess some skill in dressing wounds and to have a slight knowledge of medicine, but was not educated as a physician is now. Very often a copying clerk or a soldier, with no other training than that of an assistant in a hospital, if he had aptitude for the duties of a surgeon, was promoted to the office. Mr. Van Riebeek was of this class, but he was nevertheless a man of considerable ability, who let no opportunity of acquiring knowledge escape him. A little, fiery-tempered, resolute man, in the prime of life, with perfect health, untiring energy, and unbounded zeal, he was capable of performing a great amount of useful work. No better officer indeed could have been selected for the task that was to be taken in hand, where culture and refinement would have been out of place.

He had been a great voyager, and had seen many countries. The directors placed in his hands the document drawn up by Janssen, that he might comment upon it, which he did at some length. He thought that the settlement could be enclosed with hedges of thorn bushes, such as he had seen in the Caribbees, and which constituted the chief defence of the islanders. He had noticed how hides were preserved in Siam, and how arrack was made in Batavia. He remembered what was the price of antelope skins in Japan when he was there, and he had seen a good deal of Northern China, and believed that its varied productions would flourish at the Cape. In Greenland he had observed the process of procuring oil from whales and seals, and saw no difficulty in carrying it out in South Africa. At the Cape he had resided three weeks on shore, during the time the cargo of the *Haarlem* was being

transferred from the beach to the fleet under Wollebrant Geleynsen.

His opinions concerning the advantages of a settlement and the resources of the country coincided with those of Janssen, but they differed with respect to the character of the Hottentots. Van Riebeek had frequently heard of white men being beaten to death by them, and he considered that it would be necessary in building the fort to provide for defence against them as well as against European enemies. He did not deny that they could learn the Dutch language, or that Christianity could be propagated among them, but he spoke very cautiously on these points. If it were as Janssen appeared to believe, it would be a good thing, he observed. In this respect a clergyman would be able to perform the best service, and if the Company chose to be at the expense of maintaining one, his presence would tend to the improvement of the Europeans also.

In those days ships were not despatched on long voyages with such expedition as at present, and hence it need not cause any surprise to find the *Dromedaris* and her consorts still in Netherland waters in December 1651. On the 4th of that month the directors resolved that Mr. Van Riebeek should have power to convene the broad council of the ships, and should preside therein, or, in other words, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the little fleet.

On the 12th additional instructions were issued concerning the expedition. Precautions were to be observed against surprise by an enemy. No offence whatever was to be given to any one calling at the Cape, except to subjects of the king of Portugal residing within the limits of the Company's charter, who were open and declared foes. No representatives of any nation were to be interfered with who should attempt to form a settlement beyond the Company's boundaries, but marks of occupation were to be set up without delay wherever the ground was serviceable. The *Reiger* was to be sent to Batavia as soon as her cargo for the Cape should be landed. The *Dromedaris* was to remain in Table

Bay until the completion of the fort. There were strange rumours concerning the designs of Prince Rupert, and although the directors did not credit all they heard, it was necessary to be constantly on guard. Ships returning homeward from beyond the Cape were therefore to be warned to sail in company and to be always prepared for battle.

Attached to these instructions was an extract from a despatch of the chamber of Middelburg, giving an account of Prince Rupert. One Captain Aldert, who had been cruising off the coast of Portugal, had just arrived at Flushing, and stated that he had frequently met the prince's fleet of eight ships, all of heavy burden, and had seen them plunder a vessel of Castile in which was a large amount of specie. The prince had prevented him from making prize of a Portuguese ship laden with sugar. It was supposed that he intended to proceed to St. Helena, and lie in wait there for the return fleet of the English East India Company.

On the 15th of December the directors named David Coninck, skipper of the *Dromedaris*, to succeed the commander in case of any accident. The day following, Mr. Van Riebeek, with his family and some relatives of whom he was guardian, embarked in the *Dromedaris*, which vessel was still taking in stores for the voyage. Among the commander's relatives who accompanied him were two nieces, Elizabeth and Sebastiana van Opdorp, both of whom were afterwards married in South Africa. In those days, when the United Provinces possessed the largest mercantile marine in the world, Dutch women often lived on board ship with their husbands, and children were born and grew up almost as in a village on shore. Hence the young ladies of Mr. Van Riebeek's family probably did not look upon coming to South Africa as much of a hardship, especially as they were accompanied by others of their sex. On the 17th the family of the chief gardener, Hendrik Boom, went on board, and a small cabin was assigned for their use. Shortly after this, everything being at last in readiness, the little fleet dropped

down to Texel and cast anchor there, waiting for a favourable wind.

On Sunday the 24th of December 1651 an easterly breeze sprang up, and about noon the *Dromedaris*, *Reiger*, and *Goede Hoop*, in company with a great fleet of merchant ships, hove up their anchors and stood out to sea. The *Dromedaris* was now found to be so topheavy from bad stowage and want of ballast that in squally weather it was dangerous to show much canvas, and it was even feared at times that she would overturn. In consequence of this, the commander signalled to the other vessels, and on the 30th their skippers went on board and a council was held. There were present Jan van Riebeek, senior merchant, David Coninck, skipper of the *Dromedaris*, Jan Hoochsaet, skipper of the *Reiger*, and Simon Pieter Turver, skipper of the *Goede Hoop*. Pieter van der Helm was the secretary. The council resolved to put into a port on the English coast and procure some ballast, but the skippers had hardly returned to their own vessels when the wind set in dead off the English shore, and they were obliged to face the bay of Biscay as they were. Fortunately they had fair weather, and as soon as they got beyond the ordinary cruising ground of the privateers, the *Dromedaris* sent nine of her heavy guns below, which put her in better trim. The fear of Prince Rupert alone prevented them from reducing her available armament still further. They believed he would not make much distinction between a Dutch ship and an English one, and for aught they knew, he might have a Portuguese commission. Very likely he was somewhere between them and St. Helena or Table Bay, on the watch for Indiamen, and therefore it was necessary to be constantly on guard and ready for defence.

The weather continued favourable, and the vessels seldom parted company. On the 20th of January 1652 they were off the Cape Verde islands, and the commander summoned the council again. The skippers met, and decided that as there was no sickness on board any of the vessels they would

continue the voyage without calling. From this time until the 29th of March nothing of any note occurred. Then, for the third time during the passage, the council assembled on board the *Dromedaris*. The probable latitude and longitude they were in was first determined by the very simple method of striking the mean between their different calculations, and they then resolved to use every exertion to reach 34° 20′ S., after which they would direct their course eastward to the Cape.

On the 5th of April, about the fifth glass of the afternoon watch, the chief mate of the *Dromedaris* caught sight of Table Mountain rising above the eastern horizon, and won the reward of sixteen shillings which had been promised to the first who should discover land. A gun was at once fired and the flags were hoisted to make the fact known to the crews of the *Reiger* and *Goede Hoop*, which vessels were some distance to leeward. During the night the little fleet drew in close to the land, somewhat to the southward of the entrance to Table Bay. The 6th opened with calm weather, and as the vessels lay idle on the sea, a boat was sent in advance with the bookkeeper Adam Hulster and the mate Arend van Ieveren, who had orders to peer cautiously round the Lion's rump, and report if any ships were at anchor. About two hours before dark the boat returned with the welcome intelligence that the bay was empty, and, as a breeze sprang up just then, the *Dromedaris* and *Goede Hoop* stood in, and shortly after sunset dropped their anchors in five fathoms of water, off the mouth of the Fresh river. The *Reiger* remained outside all night, but early next morning she came running in before a light breeze, and at eight o'clock dropped anchor close to her consorts.

And so, after a passage of one hundred and four days from Texel, on the morning of Sunday the 7th of April 1652 Mr. Van Riebeek and his party looked upon the site of their future home. The passage for those days was a remarkably quick one. The officers of every ship that made Batavia Roads within six months after leaving Texel were entitled to

a premium of fifty pounds sterling, and the Cape was considered two-thirds of the sailing distance outwards. So that in 1652, and indeed for more than another century, anything below one hundred and twenty days was considered a short passage between the Netherlands and South Africa.

The people on board having been so long without fresh food were somewhat sickly, but the death rate had been unusually small. The *Dromedaris* had lost only two individuals, one being a child of the ship's surgeon, who had his family with him, and the other a carpenter who was ill when he left the fatherland. No deaths are mentioned as having occurred on board the *Reiger* or *Goede Hoop*.

At daybreak Skipper Coninck landed for the purpose of looking for letters and to get some herbs and fresh fish. It was usual for the masters of ships that called at Table Bay to leave journals of events and other documents concealed in secure places, and to mark on prominent stones directions for finding them. This had been the practice for nearly half a century, so that a fleet arriving from home always expected to get here the latest news from the East. In time of war great caution had to be taken, so as to leave no information that could be made use of by an enemy, but otherwise the practice was found to be very convenient. The skipper took with him six armed soldiers and a boat's crew with a seine. A box containing three letters was discovered, and a good haul of fish was made.

The letters had been written by Jan van Teylingen, admiral of the last return fleet, who had left Table Bay on the 26th of February with three ships out of the eleven under his flag. The others had been lost sight of soon after passing the strait of Sunda. The admiral had waited here eleven days, and had then gone on to St. Helena, in hope of finding the missing ships there. But in case they should still be behind and should arrive in Table Bay after his departure, he had left a letter addressed to their commanders, informing them of his movements. In it he stated that he had only been able to procure one bullock and one

sheep from the Hottentots, though many cattle were seen inland. There were on board the missing ships some horses intended for the use of the people who were coming to form a victualling station, and he directed that these should be landed and placed in charge of a certain Hottentot who could speak English. The other two letters were addressed to the governor-general and councillors of India, and were left here to be taken on by any ship that might call.

In the evening Mr. Van Riebeek and some others went ashore to examine the valley and select a site for the fort. It was towards the close of the dry season, and the land was everywhere parched with drought. The sources of the little streamlets which in winter ran into the Fresh river were all dried up, and their channels were gaping to the sun. The wild flowers of many hues, which at other seasons of the year delighted the eyes of visitors, were now to be sought in vain. The summer heat was past, but no rains had yet fallen to clothe the ground with a mantle of beauty, and make it what Janssen and Proot had seen.

In many of the minor outlines of the vale the hand of man has effected a striking change since that day. The stream of sweet water, which the early voyagers called the Fresh river, then ran down its centre from the mountain to the sea. In the neighbourhood of the present Church-square there was in winter a great swamp fed by the stream, where hippopotami often disported themselves. All vestiges of this have long since disappeared. In other parts of the valley hollows have been filled up and hillocks levelled down, and along the flank of the Lion's rump a slight alteration in the contour has been made. The grand features of Table Mountain in the background, the Devil's peak on one hand and the Lion mount on the other, are all unchangeable save by untold ages of time. As Antonio de Saldanha, first of Europeans to enter the bay, saw them in 1503, and as they are under our eyes to-day, so were they seen by Commander Van Riebeek on that Sunday in April 1652.

When the boat returned, two inhabitants of the Cape peninsula went on board the *Dromedaris*. One of them

was a man who was closely connected with the Europeans for the remainder of his life, and was the same in whose charge the horses were to have been left, if the missing ships of Van Teylingen's fleet had put into Table Bay instead of passing on to St. Helena. His name was Autshumao, but he was better known afterwards as Harry, or Herry as Mr. Van Riebeek wrote it. He had spent some time on board an English ship, in which he had visited Bantam, and had acquired a smattering of the language of those among whom he had lived. This knowledge, very imperfect though it was, made him useful as an interpreter between the Europeans and his countrymen. The few families—fifty or sixty souls all told—forming the little clan of which Harry was the leading member, were then the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape peninsula. They had no cattle, and maintained a wretched existence by fishing and gathering wild roots. Mussels and periwinkles also made up a portion of their diet, for they were in that stage of culture which is marked by the kitchen middens along the coast, though they were acquainted with the pastoral form of living. They called themselves Goringhaikonas,* but were usually entitled Beachrangers by the Dutch. An impoverished, famine-stricken, half-naked band of savages, hardly any conceivable mode of existence could be more miserable than theirs.

There were two large clans, which were possessed of herds of horned cattle and sheep, and which visited Table Valley and its neighbourhood periodically when the pasturage was good. One of these clans, known to themselves and their neighbours as the Goringhaiqua and to the Dutch first as the Saldanhars and afterwards as the Kaapmans, had a fighting force of five or six hundred men. They were under a chief named Gogosoa, who had attained a very great age and was so stout that he was commonly called the Fat Captain. The

*As written by Mr. Van Riebeek. Almost certainly the word contained one click or more, and the sound according to this spelling is only approximately correct. This remark holds good with regard to all the Hottentot words in the early records.

other clan was the Gorachouqua, nicknamed the Tobacco Thieves by the Dutch. They had a force of three or four hundred fighting men, and obeyed a chief named Choro by Mr. Van Riebeek, probably 'Kora by themselves. The Goringhaiquas and the Gorachouquas, wandered about with their flocks and herds, sometimes pitching their mat huts beside Table Mountain, sometimes at the foot of Riebeek's Kasteel, or in the vale now known as French Hoek. The smoke of their fires might at times be seen rising anywhere within the farthest mountains visible on the north and the east. The Goringhaiquas, being the most numerous and wealthy, were looked upon by Mr. Van Riebeek as better entitled than the others to be called the owners of this part of the country. They were feeding their herds on the opposite side of the bay when the party of occupation arrived.

On the 8th the council, consisting of the commander and the three skippers, met on board the *Dromedaris* to arrange for commencing the work on shore. It was resolved that they should land at once and mark out a site for the fortress. Exclusive of officers, there were one hundred and eighty-one men on board the three vessels, and of these, one hundred were to be set to work in raising the walls. The carpenters were to put up a wooden dwelling-house and a store-shed for temporary use. The men left on board the ships were to be employed in discharging the goods and in catching fish.

This custom of bringing all matters of importance before a council for decision was the usual method of procedure in the Company's service. Every ship had its council, nominated by the authorities before she left port. When several ships sailed in company, the principal men in each formed a broad council for the squadron. A settlement such as that in South Africa was regarded as similar to a single ship in a fleet. It had its own council, which was here for a long course of years a very elastic body, adapted to meet the circumstances of the times. It consisted of the presiding officer, who had no higher title until 1672 than that of

commander, and a number of officers of inferior rank, who were usually appointed by some commissioner on his way to or from India. When there were ships belonging to the Company lying in the bay, their principal officers and those of the Cape settlement formed a broad council, which was presided over by the highest in rank, who might be the commander here or a stranger to the place. These broad councils passed resolutions concerning the most important matters in South Africa as well as concerning the affairs of fleets.

The gradation of authority in the Company's service was very clearly defined. The assembly of seventeen was supreme. Next came the governor-general and council of India, whose orders and instructions were issued from the castle of Batavia. Then its authority was spread out among a vast number of admirals and governors and commanders, each with his council, but wherever these came in contact, the lower in rank gave way to the higher. The Company's servants scattered over the eastern world were like a regiment of soldiers. The assembly of seventeen was the commander-in-chief. The governor-general and council of India was the colonel. The admirals and governors and commanders were the captains and lieutenants and ensigns, and wherever a captain appeared the lieutenants without question submitted to him. If the officers of a regiment were stationed in many different posts and were in the habit of assembling councils of war on all occasions, the parallel would be complete. This circumstance must be borne in mind, as it gives a clear insight into the mode of government under which the occupation took place.

Mr. Van Riebeek and the three skippers, having made an inspection of Table Valley, selected a site for the fort on the ground close behind the present general post-office. The outlines were then marked out, and the labourers commenced the work without delay. The fort was in the form of a square, with bastions at its angles. Each of its faces was

seventy-eight metres in length. The walls were constructed of earth, six metres and a fifth in thickness at the base and tapering to five metres at the top. They were three metres and three fourths in height, and were surmounted by a parapet. Round the whole structure there was a moat, into which the water of the Fresh river could be conducted. Within, there were some wooden buildings and a square stone tower rising above the walls. The tower had a flat roof, from which its defenders could fire down upon an enemy who should attempt to scramble over the banks of earth. The buildings were used as dwelling-houses, barracks, and storehouses. In front, that is on the side facing the sea, a large space beyond the moat was enclosed with an earthen wall so constructed as to give additional strength to the whole. In this enclosure were the workshops and the hospital, which was a large building, as the Company intended that sick men from the fleets should be left here to recover. At the back there was a similar enclosure, which was used as a cattle kraal. The plan was altered several times during the course of construction, in such respects as the thickness and height of the walls, but the general design remained as it was laid out on the 9th of April. Such was the original fort Good Hope, when it was completed.

As soon as the tents were pitched ashore, the Goringhaikonas, or beachrangers, brought their families to the encampment, where they afterwards remained pretty constantly. Occasionally they would wander along the beach seeking shell-fish, but as far as food was concerned they were now better off than they had ever been before. Mr. Van Riebeek had instructions to conciliate the wild inhabitants, and in everything he did his utmost to carry out the orders of his superiosr in authority. He believed that Harry especially would be of great service in communicating with the inland hordes, and therefore he tried to gain his attachment by liberal presents of food and clothing. The others were often supplied at meal-times with such provisions as

were given to the labourers, but Harry always had a share of whatever was on the commander's own table.

About noon on the 10th, as some of the workmen were busy with their spades and wheelbarrows, and others were beating down bushes and earth in the walls, nine or ten of the Goringhaiquas made their appearance. To the surprise of the Dutch, Harry's people immediately seized their assagais and bows, and attacked the strangers with great fury. Skipper Hoochsaet with a corporal and a party of armed soldiers ran in between them, but had some difficulty in separating the combatants and restoring peace. It was not four days since the expedition had arrived, and already the Europeans had learned of the hostility existing between the different Hottentot clans. At no distant date they were to discover that the scene they had witnessed was typical of the ordinary existence of the barbarous tribes of Africa.

On the 15th the *Salamander*, one of the missing ships of Van Teylingen's fleet, came into the bay. She reported that the horses and various Indian plants and seeds which had been sent from Batavia were on board the other vessels, and must have passed the Cape before this date. It was afterwards ascertained that the ships had gone on to St. Helena, which was then an uninhabited island, and that the horses had been turned loose there. The *Salamander* left here a clerk, named Frederik Verburg, and two workmen, and sailed on the 20th for the fatherland.

On the 24th Mr. Van Riebeek and his family left the *Dromedaris* and took up their residence on land, in a building roughly constructed of planks and standing close to the beach. One of the walls of the fort was already in such a condition that the cannon had been mounted upon it. Yet the commander frequently complained of the slowness with which the work was being carried on. The labourers were enfeebled by the sea voyage, and they had been disappointed in the expectation of being able to procure fresh food. The pastoral clans were encamped at a distance, and hitherto

they had sent only one cow and a calf to be exchanged for copper bars. The wild herbs and mustard leaves and sorrel or scurvy-grass, for which they were longing so much, had almost disappeared in the drought. The earth was like iron under their picks, so that they were not digging but quarrying it. And to add to their troubles, the south-east wind blew frequently with such violence that they were nearly blinded with dust, and could hardly stand upon the walls.

Their principal relief came from the sea. The bay was swarming with fish, and they had only to go as far as Salt River to cast their seines. So weary were their palates of ship's meat that they believed some kinds of Cape fish were the most delicious in the world. There was nothing to approach them in flavour, they said, even in the waters of the fatherland. On the night before Mr. Van Riebeek's family landed, they killed a great hippopotamus, as heavy as two fat oxen, with a monstrous head and teeth forty-three centimetres in length. Its hide was two centimetres and a half or an inch in thickness, and so tough that their musket balls would not penetrate it. They fired in vain behind its ears, but at last killed it with shots in the forehead. To the people its flesh tasted as a delicacy, and they rejoiced accordingly.

On the 7th of May the ships *Walvisch* and *Olifant* dropped their anchors in the bay, having left Texel on the 3rd of January. They had lost one hundred and thirty men on the passage, and their crews were in a dreadful condition from scurvy when they reached this port. On the 11th the broad council met on board the *Dromedaris*, and resolved that the fifty weakest invalids belonging to these two ships should be brought ashore and left here. Provisions sufficient to last for three months were to be landed for their use, and all who should recover were to be sent to Batavia with the first opportunity. The names of the four ships in the bay were given to the bastions of the still unfinished fort. That to the south was called the Dromedaris, to the north the Reiger, to the east the Walvisch, and to the west the Olifant. The little yacht had the same name as the

whole fort. As there were no refreshments except water and fish to be had here, the ships sailed again as soon as possible, and with them the *Reiger* left for Batavia.

On the 25th there arrived the ship *Hof van Zeeland*, which sailed from home on the 31st of January, and had lost thirty-seven men by death on the passage. She took in water, and sailed again in a few days.

On the 28th the *Dromedaris* sailed, and the party of occupation was left to its own resources. The cold stormy weather of winter was beginning to set in, and the misery of Mr. Van Riebeek and his people was daily increasing. The rain could not be kept out of the tents and the wooden buildings which they had run up for temporary use, and it was with difficulty that they could preserve their bread and perishable stores. With the change of weather came sickness, which they were too weak to resist, and now almost every day there was a death from dysentery or scurvy. On the 3rd of June, out of one hundred and sixteen men, only sixty were able to perform any labour. Fresh meat and vegetables and proper shelter would have saved them, but these things were not to be obtained. They had killed a second hippopotamus, and its flesh was so much to their liking that they described it as tasting like veal; but what was one even of these huge beasts among so many mouths? There was no other game in Table Valley, though four men who went out with guns saw many antelopes behind the mountains.

They were almost as solitary as if they had been frozen up in the Arctic sea. For weeks together they saw none of the wild inhabitants of the land but Harry's miserable followers, from whom no assistance of any kind was to be had. The encampment was like a great hospital, in which the attendants staggered about among the sick and the dying. The work on the walls of the fort almost ceased, for they had enough to do to take care of themselves.

But the rains, which had brought on the dysentery, in an incredibly short time brought them also relief. Grass

sprang into existence as if by magic, and with it sprang up various plants of a nutritious kind. They were all correctives of scurvy, and that was mainly what was needed. The sick and feeble went about gathering wild herbs and roots, and declaring there was nothing in the world half so palatable. God had looked down in compassion upon them and relieved them in their sore distress. With the grass appeared game, great and small, but as yet they had not learned to be successful as hunters. As soon as the first showers fell a piece of ground was dug over, in which Hendrik Boom, the gardener, planted seeds, and soon the sick were enjoying such delicacies as radishes, lettuce, and cress. Then they found good reeds for thatch, and when the buildings were covered in with these instead of boards and torn sails, they could almost bid defiance to the heavy rains.

Those were days in which the observances ordinarily connected with a profession of religion were very strictly adhered to. No one was permitted to be absent from public prayers without good and sufficient reasons, but no one was allowed to worship God publicly in any other manner than that the government approved of. Religious phrases were constantly in people's mouths, and their correspondence was charged with quotations from Scripture and ejaculatory prayers. A great deal of this was as much mere form as the words "God save the King" at the foot of a proclamation against evading the customs are at the present day, but it is certain that matters connected with public worship then occupied more of the people's attention than they do now.

In these, its most prosperous days, the Netherlands East India Company provided for the religious needs of its servants in a very liberal manner. Its largest ships and its most important possessions were all furnished with chaplains paid from its funds. Its smaller vessels and such stations as the Cape for some years after its formation were provided with men of lower ecclesiastical rank. They were called comforters of the sick, or sick-visitors, and held offices

similar to those of catechists in the English church and evangelists in various Presbyterian bodies. They instructed the children and conducted religious services, but did not administer the sacraments.

A sick-visitor, Willem Barents Wylant by name, came to South Africa in the *Dromedaris* with Mr. Van Riebeek. His family was the first to whom quarters were assigned within the walls of the fort, where on the 6th of June his wife gave birth to a son, the first child of European blood born in the Cape Colony. The chaplains of ships that called conducted services during their stay, and usually administered the sacraments. The reverend Mr. Backerius, chaplain of the *Walvisch*, was the first of the Protestant faith who is recorded to have done so in South Africa, but it is possible that the *Haarlem* had a clergyman on board, in which case the rites of the church would certainly have been attended to during the time the crew of that vessel remained in Table Valley.

The duties of the sick-visitors were strictly defined, and in the Company's service no one was permitted to go beyond his assigned sphere of labour. Every one had his place, knew it, and was kept to it. During the time of greatest trouble, however, the sick-visitor Wylant took upon himself to address the people in his own words, instead of reading a printed sermon as he was bound to do. In the following year information of this was carried to Batavia, and reached the ears of the clergy there. No fault was found with the doctrines which he preached, but that an unordained man should venture to address a congregation was considered a scandal to the Christian church. The ecclesiastical court of Batavia addressed the governor-general and council of India on the subject, and forthwith a despatch was sent to Mr. Van Riebeek requiring him to prohibit such irregular proceedings. A letter from the ecclesiastical court was also sent to the commander to the same effect, in which it is stated that the sick-visitor should have known better than to put his sickle into another's harvest and take to himself honour which did not belong to him. This incident

shows what importance the Dutch clergy then attached to a strict adherence to the established order of things, and how they objected to anything like innovation.

The final authority in such matters in South Africa, however, was neither the ecclesiastical court of Batavia nor the East India Company itself, but the classis or presbytery of Amsterdam, whose license was necessary before a clergyman or a sick-visitor could perform the duties of his calling in this country, and to which reverend body reports on religious matters were required to be sent. The court at Batavia and the civil officials merely carried out the directions of the classis of Amsterdam, which remained the governing body of the colonial church as long as the East India Company held dominion in South Africa. Its license, once granted however, enabled the civil authorities to remove either a clergyman or a sick-visitor from one station to another without further reference to it.

CHAPTER XXII.

MR. VAN RIEBEEK'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

DURING the winter there were many heavy storms, and so much rain fell that on several occasions the valley was quite flooded. The ground that was prepared for gardens was twice washed away. But as soon as a storm was over, the people set to work again and laid fresh plots under cultivation. The land was now swarming with elands and hartebeests and steenbucks, but the hunters with their clumsy firelocks could not get within range of them. Mr. Van Riebeek caused pitfalls to be made and snares to be set, but all this labour was in vain, for during the whole season only one young hartebeest was secured, and that was run down by dogs. As soon as the workmen regained a little strength the fort and the buildings it enclosed were taken in hand again, so that by the 3rd of August the whole party managed to get shelter within the walls. The heavy rains were found not to damage the earthworks in the least, for the whole had been faced with sods as soon as the ground was soft enough to dig them.

At times the bay seemed to be filled with whales. They came spouting in front of the commander's quarters nearly every day, and caused him to reflect with regret upon the loss which the Company was sustaining by his inability to secure their oil. He had no men to spare to follow them up, nor casks to preserve the oil in. On the 13th of August he summoned his council, principally to take this matter into consideration, and endeavour to devise and arrange some plan for getting possession of the wealth before their eyes.

There were present at the council board the commander himself, Simon Pieter Turver and Gerrit Abelsen, master and mate of the yacht *Goede Hoop*, and the corporal Joost van der Laeck. Pieter van der Helm kept a record of the proceedings. They discussed the situation of affairs generally, and expressed their hope that assistance to finish the fort would soon be furnished by the crews of the ships expected from Europe. They then decided to represent to the admiral of the outward-bound fleet, as soon as he should arrive in Table Bay, that in their opinion a good profit could be made out of oil, and to request assistance from him to establish a whale fishery. Without help they could do nothing, as even if they had all the requisite materials at hand the labourers were still so feeble and sickly that anything beyond the necessary work in the gardens and on the buildings could not be undertaken.

In the second week of September the *Goede Hoop* was sent to Robben Island on a cruise of observation. She returned with more than a hundred sea-birds and three thousand eggs, a supply of food which was very welcome as a change. The commander immediately resolved to visit the island in person. He found that the gulls had destroyed all the eggs which had been left in the nests disturbed by the *Goede Hoop's* crew. The seals, from which the island has its name, were not seen in very great numbers. The sailors drove a flock of penguins like so many sheep to the water's edge, where they were secured and put on board the yacht.

Soon after his return from Robben Island, the commander proceeded to inspect the country back of the Devil's peak. He was fairly enraptured with the beauty and fertility of the land there, and drew a bright mental picture of what it might become if an industrious Chinese population were introduced and located upon it. In such a case, there would be an unlimited supply of fresh provisions always to be obtained. The Chinese seem to have been favourites of Mr. Van Riebeek, for he often wrote of them as the most suitable people to carry out the Company's designs in South

Africa. He addressed the governor-general and council of India on the subject, and represented his views to the assembly of seventeen, but fortunately for this country there were no Chinese emigrants then to be got hold of. If there had been a hundred convicts of that race in the Company's eastern possessions in 1653 or 1654, the whole future of the Cape Colony would have been changed.

During this inspection of the country, the commander and his party visited the forests then to be found along the base of the mountains and extending into all the kloofs. There were trees of great size in them, and some so straight that they seemed well adapted for ships' masts. The variety of timber was considerable. Mr. Van Riebeek observed that these forests had been visited long before, as on some of the trees the dates 1604, 1620, and 1622 were found carved, but no names or initials were seen.

Toward the close of September a party of four men set out from the fort with the intention of making their way overland to Mozambique, from which place they hoped to be able to obtain a passage to Europe. So little knowledge had they of the distance of the Portuguese possessions and of the dangers of such a journey, or so utterly reckless had their past sufferings made them, that they left provided with no other food than four biscuits and a few fish. Following the Dutch custom in every voyage or journey, the leader of the little band of fugitives kept a diary of occurrences, which he wrote with red chalk. It commences "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," and tells of adventures with wild animals and how God preserved them, until at last Willem Huytjens, Gerrit Dircksen, and Jan Verdonck could go no farther. Then the leader, Jan Blanx, not being able to continue the journey alone, was obliged to abandon hope of success, and they all returned to the fort and gave themselves up, praying for mercy. They had been absent eight days. During this time the commander discovered that a spirit of disaffection was widely spread among the workmen. They had been looking forward to the arrival of the outward-bound fleet of

1652 for some relief, but it was now almost certain that the ships had passed by, and they were beginning to entertain feelings of despair. Mr. Van Riebeek believed that severity was necessary to meet such difficulties, and he therefore caused some individuals who had uttered hasty expressions to be arrested and tried for sedition. Under such circumstances, the return of the fugitives and their admission that escape by land was impossible gave him great satisfaction. When brought to trial, they all pleaded guilty and asked for mercy, but they were condemned to two years' hard labour in chains and their leader to suffer severe corporal punishment. The last part of this sentence was carried out, but on the following new year's day the culprits were released upon promise of future good behaviour.

The fort was yet far from completed, but it was considered by the commander to be capable of defence, and he was therefore turning his attention to other matters. A party of men was told off daily to assist Hendrik Boom in the gardens. Preparations were made for forming a whaling establishment near the mouth of Salt River as soon as men and materials for the purpose could be obtained. The country for a short distance around was well explored. The fine forests at Hout Bay were inspected, and the facility with which fuel could be procured there was noted down. Then the yacht *Goede Hoop*, which had been lying idle all the winter and on several occasions had narrowly escaped being driven on shore in the gales, was made ready for a short voyage to the northward.

So little did the commander and council then know of the south-west coast of Africa that they discussed the likelihood of gold, ambergris, musk, and ivory being obtainable in trade at Saldanha Bay. They considered it at any rate certain that people would be found there, because Admiral Joris van Spilbergen saw the smoke of many fires inland when he passed by in November 1601. From the journal of Spilbergen's voyage they ascertained that he had seen great numbers of seals and conies on Dassen Island. And Simon

Pieter Turver himself, when last he was at St. Helena with a return fleet from the Indies, had heard a French skipper who arrived there at the same time boast that his cargo of sealskins and oil, which he had obtained on this coast, was worth over eight thousand pounds sterling.

The yacht was detained by contrary winds until the 21st of October, when she stood out of Table Bay with a fair breeze, and in a few hours anchored off Elizabeth or Dassen Island. The skipper with a party of sailors and the clerk Frederik Verburg then went ashore. There was evidence that the island had been used very recently as a sealing station, for they saw some huts still standing, which had been constructed of sealskins and ribs of whales, and found some of the implements required in that pursuit. They killed twenty conies, the flesh of which they described afterwards as the most delicious meat they had ever tasted. They saw a great many seals, and wild fowl innumerable, of whose eggs they took on board about twelve thousand, and then set sail for Saldanha Bay. The description which they have left on record of this splendid sheet of water is fairly accurate, though they believed that a great river emptied into its southern end. It extends so far into the land that they did not explore it thoroughly. A few wretched Hottentots, of the same stamp as Harry's beach-rangers, were found on its shores, but there were none possessed of cattle living there at the time. After they had been in the bay several days, however, a party of pastoral Hottentots arrived and brought a couple of sheep which they bartered to the strangers, but beyond these, a handful of ostrich feathers, and three antelopes shot with arrows, nothing whatever was to be obtained in trade. Some fish were caught with a seine, and the advantages which the bay offered for this pursuit were duly noted.

Skipper Turver, having venison, fish, and abundance of eggs, deemed it prudent not to slaughter the two sheep, but to put them upon an islet where they could graze until needed. For this purpose he landed upon Schapen Island,

where as they were roaming about some of the men came upon a great heap of dried sealskins. Upon examination, it was found that a few on the top had been partly destroyed by the action of the weather, but there were over two thousand seven hundred in excellent condition. Scattered about were various articles which explained the matter. A French vessel had been there the previous season, and having secured more than she could take away, had left the heap of skins behind. Some of the islands were then swarming with seals, so that Skipper Turver concluded the French ship would speedily return for another cargo. In his opinion the Netherlands East India Company, having built a fort at the Cape, was now entitled to the exclusive enjoyment of this source of profit. He therefore caused all the good skins to be removed to the hold of the yacht, and set up a mark of possession on behalf of the Company where the heap had been. After this the *Goede Hoop* examined the coast round St. Helena Bay, visited Dassen Island again, and then returned to her old anchorage off the fort, where she arrived safely on the 14th of November.

About the 1st of October the fires of the Kaapmans began to be visible far away to the northward, and on the 9th of that month two of their scouts arrived at the fort with news that the whole clan with its flocks and herds was approaching, to which Mr. Van Riebeek responded heartily, "God grant it, Amen." The two strangers were much finer specimens of the Hottentot race than any of the famine-stunted beachrangers. They were naked, but each carried over his arm a kaross of prepared skins, just as a European dandy of those days would carry his mantle. As ornaments they wore solid ivory armlets and various decorations made of copper.

The commander had positive orders to conciliate the wild inhabitants, and his own necessities at this moment were so great that, apart from duty or inclination, he would have been obliged to show them every mark of friendship. The provisions which he had brought from the fatherland were getting low, the outward-bound fleet had evidently passed by,

and it would be many months before the return fleet could be expected. The very existence of his party might depend upon obtaining a supply of cattle. The visitors were therefore treated with the utmost hospitality; they were shown the stores of copper plates, brass wire, and tobacco, which had been brought for trade, and when they left they carried presents and messages of friendship with them.

The Kaapmans were moving slowly with their cattle, as it was their custom to seek change of pasture only when the grass in any place was eaten off. Their scouts and messengers after this came often to the fort, but it was not until the 20th that they brought anything for sale. On that day the trade of the season commenced by Mr. Van Riebeek obtaining in barter three head of horned cattle, four sheep, three tusks of ivory, and two young ostriches. Shortly after this, the main body of Gogosoa's people reached the peninsula, and thousands of cattle were grazing in sight of the fort and at the back of the mountain, where the villages of Rondebosch and Claremont now stand. The Europeans and the Hottentots met together openly on the best of terms, but there are evidences that they were suspicious of each other. The commander caused the guards at the fort to be doubled during the time the Kaapmans remained in the neighbourhood, and often when a small party of Europeans approached the Hottentots, these would scamper away in fear. A brisk trade was, however, opened up, and soon Mr. Van Riebeek had the satisfaction of seeing a goodly herd in his possession.

All intercourse was prohibited between the workmen and the Hottentots. The trade was carried on by the commander himself, assisted by one of the clerks, Verburg or Van der Helm. It was arranged that flat copper bars and tobacco should be exchanged for horned cattle, and brass wire and tobacco for sheep, so that bartering consisted principally by fixing the quantities of these articles. The Hottentots brought ostrich eggs, tortoise shells, and occasionally an ostrich feather or two, which the workmen seemed desirous of obtaining in return for bits of tobacco, but the commander

threatened to punish any of his people very severely who should attempt to infringe his regulations. He had no notion of permitting anything that might hamper the Company's trade, even in the slightest degree, and he feared also that the sailors and soldiers might lightly provoke a quarrel with those whom he wished to conciliate. He thought that large quantities of ivory and ostrich feathers might in time be obtained if the Hottentots could be assured of a safe market, but very soon he found that they were too indolent to hunt elephants and ostriches expressly for this purpose, and only brought in what they picked up. It was not in his power to create among them new wants, for the gratification of which they would be willing to make unusual exertions.

The Kaapmans, though they were very fond of European food and ate heartily of anything that was given to them, were observed to be living in their own encampments almost entirely upon milk. This they kept in leather bags, just as many of the Bantu do at the present day, and they partook of it by dipping a little swab into the bag and then sucking it. Children sucked the ewes, which the mothers held fast for them. There was nothing which they coveted from the Europeans so much as tobacco, and without this no trade whatever could be done.

Harry, who had his food from the commander's own table and who was dressed as a European, was the interpreter between the two races. But whenever the cattle trade slackened or anything went wrong, Mr. Van Riebeek attributed it to the bad advice given by him to the other Hottentots. He gave offence also by frequently expressing a wish for the arrival of an English fleet, and boasting of the favours he had received from people of that nation. His services could not well be dispensed with, but Mr. Van Riebeek was already endeavouring to educate interpreters to take his place. When the *Goede Hoop* was sent to Saldanha Bay, a Hottentot boy was sent in her purposely that he might learn the Dutch language, and the commander had taken into his own house one of Harry's nieces, a girl who

was called Eva by the Europeans, and who was being trained to civilised habits.

In December the Kaapmans set fire to the dry grass everywhere except in the pastures which Mr. Van Riebeek requested them to spare for his use, and they then moved away from Table Valley with their cattle. Before they left they made a proposal which shows forcibly the savage condition of the Hottentot clans. They asked the commander to join them in an attack upon their enemies, offering to let him take all the spoil in return for his assistance. Mr. Van Riebeek replied that he had come to trade in friendship with all, and declined to take any part in their dissensions. But while thus preserving the appearance of dealing justly and amicably, his correspondence shows how ready he was to act in a different manner if he had not been bound down by strict orders from the directors. It would be so easy, he observed, to seize ten or twelve thousand head of cattle for the use of the Company, and to send their owners to India to be sold as slaves, that it was a pity he was prohibited from doing it.

Parties of the Kaapmans remained in the neighbourhood for some time after the main body left, so that Mr. Van Riebeek was enabled to continue the trade with them by sending out a few men furnished with such goods as were in demand. By the end of January 1653, when the last of the stragglers had moved away, he had obtained altogether two hundred and thirty head of horned cattle and five hundred and eighty sheep.

The strong south-east winds had nearly destroyed the wheat and peas, but the cabbages, turnips, and carrots had thriven wonderfully well, and there was a good supply of these in readiness for the return fleet. Bread and other provisions brought from home were nearly exhausted. In order to spare the cattle for the use of the fleet, the resources of the islands and the sea were still drawn upon. Conies, young seals, penguins and other sea-birds, eggs, and fish formed a large portion of the diet of the labourers. Natur-

ally they were constantly complaining, and some of them even carried on a system of plundering the gardens at night, stealing and killing sheep, pretending to be sick, and otherwise setting at naught the general articles by which they were governed. Very severe punishments were inflicted, but all to no purpose, for the disorder continued until the cause was removed.

For nearly eight months there had been no vessel but the little yacht in the bay, when on the 18th of January 1653 the galiot *Zwarte Vos*, Skipper Theunis Eyssen, arrived. She had sailed from Texel on the 4th of the preceding September, and was sent to convey intelligence that war had commenced between the Netherlands and the Commonwealth of England. Two other vessels, the yacht *Haas* and the galiot *Roode Vos*, had been despatched on the same errand, but the *Zwarte Vos* had outstripped them both. The *Haas*, indeed, did not arrive in Table Bay until the 26th of March, and the *Roode Vos* made her first appearance on the 2nd of June.

The despatches brought by the *Zwarte Vos* are still in a perfect state of preservation in our archives. There are three documents dated on the 24th of July 1652, and five supplementary dated on the 20th and 21st of August. The first are addressed to the governor-general and councillors of India, to the officers of the Company's establishments at Gambroon and Surat, and to the commander of the fort Good Hope. They all bear the original signatures of a committee of the directors, as several copies of each document were made and signed at the same time. The purport of these despatches is that since the English had beheaded their king and adopted a new form of government, they had determined not to live in friendship with their neighbours. The Dutch ambassadors in London had proposed every arrangement that was reasonable to maintain peace, but without any effect. It was plain that England was bent upon appropriating all trade to herself, upon acquiring the *dominium maris*, the sovereignty and property

of the high seas, and this no nation, especially the free Netherlands, could ever again submit to. The paths of the wide ocean must be open alike to every flag. For eighty years the States had fought for freedom, and had acquired renown not only for the generation then living but for posterity. They were at war with Portugal, and the Almighty knew that they did not seek another enemy, but they could not submit to the pretensions of England, and depending on God's blessing on their good cause they were resolved to oppose such claims with all their power.

It was believed that the English would send a fleet to St. Helena to lie in wait for the Company's vessels returning home with rich cargoes from India. Instructions were therefore given that the ships were to keep together and avoid that part of the Atlantic. Their course was laid down west and north of the British Islands to the coast of Norway, and then along the European shore to the havens of the fatherland. The commander of the fort Good Hope was directed to strengthen his garrison by detaining twenty-five or thirty soldiers from the first ships that should call, and he was to guard carefully against surprise by the enemy.

The council at once resolved to detain the galiot here, and to send the *Goede Hoop*, as the better vessel of the two, to Batavia with the intelligence. The yacht had been for the second time to Saldanha Bay and Dassen Island, but was then at anchor off the fort. In five days she was ready for sea, and on the 23rd she sailed.

Every exertion that was possible was now put forth to strengthen the fort, so that an attempt might be made to defend it in case of attack. There is no doubt that the commander would have done all that a brave and faithful officer could do to protect the post under his charge, but it was well for him that no enemy appeared. His cannon, he states, were so light that they would not throw a ball more than half-way to the anchorage. The fort was commanded by the flank of the Lion's rump, so that if an enemy of even trifling strength once landed, it must have surrendered.

Several of the garrison were disaffected, and a few were ready to commit almost any crime. It is thus evident that Mr. Van Riebeek's means of defence against any force more formidable than a Hottentot horde were not at this time to be depended on.

On the 2nd of March five ships from India, under the flag of Admiral Gerard Demmer, arrived in the bay. That very morning the last ration of bread had been issued to the workmen, but there was then no fear of starvation, for Mr. Van Riebeek was able to supply abundance of fresh meat and vegetables to the crews of all the ships that called during the next two months. On the 26th the *Haas* arrived from the Netherlands, and on the 14th of April the yacht *Windhond* followed her in. On the 17th of April the bay was clear again, for on that day Admiral Demmer's five ships sailed for the fatherland and the two yachts proceeded on their voyage to Batavia. But next morning the *Muyden* arrived from Texel with news up to the 26th of December, and within a few days three Indiamen from Batavia entered the bay, where they remained until the 6th of the following month. From these various ships the commander was able to replenish his stores with everything that he needed, except the material for carrying on a whale fishery, which project he was obliged to defer still longer.

A few weeks after the departure of the Goringhaiquas some small parties of another clan living farther inland arrived in Table Valley. They had heard that copper and tobacco were to be obtained in exchange for cattle, and they came therefore to trade. This was precisely what Mr. Van Riebeek most desired. From them he obtained seventy-five head of horned cattle and twenty-one sheep, besides a few tusks of ivory. These figures added to those previously given show the extent of trade here in the first year of the European occupation.

On the 2nd of June the galiot *Roode Vos*, which had long been given up for lost, made her appearance. Her skipper and mate had died at sea, and for three months and a half

the galiot had been beating about off the Cape, looking for Table Bay. She was kept here in order to bring shells from Robben Island to be burnt for lime, wood from Hout Bay for fuel, eggs, birds, and conies from Dassen Island for provisions, and other such purposes. The *Zwarte Vos*, which had been employed in this service, was sent to Gambroon with despatches.

The second winter spent in South Africa was uneventful. There was plenty of food for all, and consequently not much sickness. Building was carried on in a satisfactory manner, oxen were trained to draw timber from the forests behind the Devil's peak, and much new ground was broken up. Wild animals gave more trouble than anything else. The lions were so bold that they invaded the cattle kraal by night, though armed men were always watching it, and the leopards came down from the mountain in broad daylight and carried away sheep under the eyes of the herdsmen. One morning before daybreak there was a great noise in the poultry pens, and when the guards went to see what was the matter, they found that all the ducks and geese had been killed by wild cats. The country appeared to be swarming with ravenous beasts of different kinds.

In August the ships *Salamander*, *Phœnix*, and *Koning David* arrived from home, and were provided with fresh provisions during their stay. On board the *Phœnix* was a young man named Jacob Ryniers, who held the rank of junior merchant, and whom the commander was desirous of having for an assistant. He therefore convened a broad council, and represented that in case of his death or temporary absence from the fort there was no one of higher rank than a sergeant to perform his duties, in which event the Company's property would be exposed to much hazard. The council thereupon agreed that Mr. Ryniers should remain at the Cape. He was the first who held the office of secunde, or second in authority, in the settlement. Three months later he was married to Miss Elizabeth van Opdorp, niece and ward of Mr. Van Riebeek.

On the 2nd of September a small party of Hottentots came to the fort with a few cattle for sale, but as they were not followed by others, the council resolved to send the *Roode Vos* to Saldanha Bay to ascertain if the Goringhaiquas were in that neighbourhood, and, if so, to try to open up a trade with them. The galiot was just about to sail when Harry informed the commander that he had heard from two Hottentots that a large ship was lying in Saldanha Bay. Thereupon it was resolved to send Mr. Ryniers and six soldiers to ascertain particulars. After an absence of eight days, the party returned overland, with intelligence that the ship was under the French flag and that her crew had been engaged more than six months killing seals on the islands. They had nearly completed a cargo of forty-eight thousand skins and a good many casks of oil. The skipper intended to sail shortly for Rochelle, and very politely offered to take any letters or despatches, which he promised to forward to Amsterdam.

The correspondence which is found concerning this event shows how lightly falsehood was regarded by Mr. Van Riebeek. We must remember, however, that duplicity was in that age generally practised by men in his position everywhere throughout Europe. He had the ideas of the seventeenth century, not of the twentieth, and one of those ideas was that deceit was allowable in conducting public affairs. The commander believed it to be to the interest of the East India Company to keep foreigners away from South Africa, and he did not scruple to practise fraud towards them. Mr. Ryniers represented that many of the French seamen wished to desert, as they were provided with no other food than what could be collected on the islands. Mr. Van Riebeek thereupon called the council together, and suggested a plan for damaging the Frenchman. It was resolved to send four men overland to Saldanha Bay, with instructions to the officers of the galiot to entice as many as possible of the French seamen to desert, as by so doing the ship might be crippled and her owners discouraged from sending her again.

Frederik Verburg, who understood the French language, was at the same time sent with a complimentary message to the master of the French ship. He was to say that Mr. Van Riebeek regretted very much that he had no conveyance by which he could send a supply of fresh provisions to Saldanha Bay, but if Monsieur would do him the honour of coming to Table Bay he would be very happy to furnish him with abundance of everything, including geese, ducks, partridges, and salad, for his own table. A letter was sent for the directors, but the most important paragraph in it was written in a strange language, which only two or three persons in Amsterdam were able to interpret.

There was nothing gained, however, by this double dealing, for the French skipper suspected that hostile designs were entertained against him, and took such precautions that only four of his men managed to escape. With these the *Roode Vos* returned to Table Bay, having had no communication with any Hottentots from whom cattle were to be obtained. The parties who had travelled overland saw many rhinoceroses, and on two occasions were obliged to make a detour to avoid troops of elephants.

On the 18th of October the second child of European parentage was born in the fort Good Hope. The infant was a son of Commander Van Riebeek, and was destined to become a man of distinction. In 1709, when he was fifty-six years of age, he attained the rank of governor-general of Netherlands India, which he held until his death in 1713.

On the morning of Sunday the 19th of October the garrison was assembled in the great hall of the commander's residence, where religious services were regularly held. The sentries were at their posts on the ramparts, and Hendrik Wilders and David Janssen, the two cattle herds, were tending the oxen and cows, but nearly every one else was listening to a sermon which Dominie Wylant, the sick-comforter, was reading. Ever since the Europeans landed, the beachranger Hottentots had been living mostly with them, the men idling about all day and the women and children

carrying firewood and performing other trifling services in return for their food. They were now well clothed after their fashion, for the skins of the cattle that had been slaughtered were given to them to be made into karosses. As for Harry, the principal man among them, he lived in a hut not a pistol shot from the gate of the fort, but he had his food from the commander's own table, and was supplied with bread and other provisions for his family in return for his services as an interpreter. When the Europeans went to their devotions that morning, all was still and quiet as usual. There were no strangers in Table Valley, and no one was moving about, for a drizzling rain was drifting up from the Atlantic before a westerly breeze.

When the sermon was over, one of the guards reported to the commander that Harry, with his whole family carrying his household effects, had left his hut during the service, but no notice was taken of this at the time. In a few minutes it was observed that Eva was missing, and then, just as the commander was sitting down to dinner, came Hendrik Wilders, the herdsman, with information that his companion had been murdered and that the beachrangers had driven off forty-two of the cattle, leaving only two behind them. His story was that he had come to the fort for some food, leaving the youth David Janssen in charge of the cattle, which were grazing at the end of the Lion's rump. Upon his return he found the corpse of the lad, who had been murdered with assagais, and saw the cattle being driven hastily round the mountain.

Mr. Van Riebeek had three Javanese horses, which had been sent from Batavia in the last ships that arrived here. Upon these, soldiers were mounted and sent round by Sea Point to follow up the robbers, while another party proceeded over the low neck between Table Mountain and the Lion's head in hope of intercepting them. But the pursuit was a failure, though it was continued for several days. On one occasion Corporal Jan van Harwarden with his company of seventeen soldiers nearly over-

took the fugitives at the head of False Bay, but the sand was so heavy that the Europeans became exhausted, and though all the cattle were then in sight, only one cow was recovered.

Since 1653 this scene has been repeated a thousand times in South Africa, but it was new to Mr. Van Riebeek's experience. Its immediate effect was to incite an intense hatred of the Hottentots among the soldiers and other workmen. In consequence of this, the commander was compelled to make the regulations prohibiting intercourse with them more stringent even than they were before.

During the next two months very few Hottentots visited Table Valley. Harry's people made their peace with the Goringhaiquas, among whom they took refuge, and probably persuaded them not to go near the fort. The supply of flat copper bars, the only sort in demand, was exhausted, and without this article in stock very few cattle were to be had at any time. And so there was little trade done, and a great deal of suffering was the result. In place of beef, the labourers were obliged to eat penguins, and even salted seals' flesh. The theft of the oxen imposed additional toil upon them also. The fort was being enclosed with palisades, cut in the forest behind the Devil's peak, and instead of being drawn on a waggon these had now to be carried on the shoulders of the men. Besides this work, a sealing establishment was formed at Dassen Island, and a redoubt, which was first called Tranenburg and afterwards Duynhoop, was commenced at the mouth of Salt River.

In December the ships *Naarden*, *Breda*, and *Lam* arrived from Texel, and were supplied with vegetables in plenty, but only three oxen could be obtained for them. They were followed early in 1654 by the *Vrede*, *Kalf*, and *Draak*, these six ships forming the outward bound fleet of the season. The *Vrede* belied her name, for her officers were quarrelling so violently with each other that the council considered it necessary to place some one in authority over

them all. For this purpose the secunde Jacob Ryniers was chosen, and to enable him to fill such a position, the rank of merchant was given to him provisionally. After his departure, the office which he had held here remained vacant for some time.

When exploring along the base of the mountain, one day a stone was discovered which contained some glittering specks, and on quarrying deeper it was found in large quantities. The commander was nearly certain that the specks were silver, and to enable him to test the mineral, he sent a party of men to a Hottentot horde encamped close by to purchase some earthenware pots, which would stand exposure to intense heat. It is by casual references of this kind that a good deal of information is often conveyed. These naked Hottentots, it seems, understood how to make earthenware jars, and Mr. Van Riebeek had observed that the jars were so well tempered that they could be used as crucibles. Not one, however, was to be obtained. The commander then caused several crucibles to be made by one of the workmen who knew something of that business, and had a small quantity of charcoal prepared. The experiments made here with the mineral proved nothing, but specimens were afterwards sent to Batavia and to the Netherlands, when it was ascertained not to contain silver.

The return fleet was now beginning to be anxiously looked for, as supplies were expected from Batavia, and various necessaries were almost exhausted. Of vegetables there was abundance, but of nothing else. The few sheep, which the commander was reserving for the fleet, were placed upon Robben Island, where the pasture was exceedingly good. Some European rabbits and a number of conies were also turned loose there. A small party of men was stationed on the island to collect seal skins and oil, and look after the sheep.

Repeated efforts were made to induce the Hottentots to re-open the cattle trade, but without success. One large

horde had been plundered by Bushmen of nearly the whole of its stock, and therefore had nothing to spare. Others wanted flat copper, the supply of which was exhausted. Harry was said to be somewhere inland, but the remaining beachrangers were seen with Gogosoa's people, and the Company's cattle were recognised among herds grazing at the back of the mountains. The sailors and soldiers were eager to recover the stolen property and to take vengeance for the murder of the youth David Janssen, but the commander would not permit any hostility whatever. He had received instructions to inspire confidence by kindness, and though he would gladly have seized a herd of cattle and made slaves of their owners, he would not disobey his orders. He states that it was hard to do so, but he allowed the very robbers to shake hands with him, and actually repurchased from them two or three of the cows which they had stolen.

This kind of treatment dispelled the fears of the Goringhaiquas so completely that by midsummer they came about the fort as freely as before, but would not barter their cattle for anything in the magazine. Most of the beachrangers also returned, and finding that they were not to be punished, took up their residence near the fort again. Their principal service, as stated by the commander, was to collect firewood, but as that was a great relief to the labourers, he was very glad to encourage them.

The 6th of April 1654, being the second anniversary of the arrival of the party of occupation, was kept as a day of thanksgiving to God for the measure of success which had been attained. It was Mr. Van Riebeek's desire that this anniversary should be observed as a holiday in perpetuity, but it seems to have been forgotten as soon as prosperity returned. Probably the distress in which they were, owing to the scarcity of bread and meat, and the anxiety with which they were looking for the return fleet, caused them to keep this as a sacred day, for they had not so kept the 6th of April 1653. It was impossible for them to have a

feast, but they abstained from labour and listened to a long sermon, and thus made the most they could of the occasion.

By the 15th of April the supply of imported provisions was so nearly exhausted that the people were reduced to two meals a day. All eyes were turned seaward for relief, but not a sail appeared from the east. On the 18th the galiot *Tulp* arrived from home, with information that secret orders had been sent to Batavia in 1653 that this year's return fleet was not to call at the Cape, but to push on to St. Helena and wait there for instructions. There was then only sufficient bread to last five or six weeks on the reduced scale, and no peas, beans, barley, or rice. It was therefore immediately resolved to send the *Tulp* to St. Helena to procure a supply of food from the return ships. The galiot was hastily got ready for the voyage, and sailed, taking with her the clerk Frederik Verburg, who was to represent the condition of the garrison to the officers of the fleet, and the assistant gardener Willem Gerrits, who was sent to bring some young apple and orange trees from the island.

The *Tulp* returned from St. Helena on the 11th of June, having been only forty-one days absent. She had found the return fleet at anchor there, and had obtained a supply of rice and other provisions sufficient to meet immediate wants. Frederik Verburg, who left a clerk, returned a junior merchant, having been raised to that rank by the admiral and council of the fleet, by whom he had also been appointed secunde at the Cape. The gardener brought back some young fruit trees, which he had obtained from those long since planted and at this time growing nearly wild upon the island.

After this the *Tulp* was sent to explore the coast of Africa from the Fish river to Delagoa Bay, and then to proceed to Madagascar, where her officers were to endeavour to procure a cargo of rice. In one of the ships that called here in 1653 there was a missionary of the Company of Jesus, Martinus Martini by name, a German by birth, who was returning as a passenger from China to Europe. This man

professed to have obtained from others of his order much knowledge concerning the country along the south-eastern coast, and he informed Mr. Van Riebeek that gold, ambergris, ivory, ebony, and slaves were to be obtained there in trade. He stated that the Portuguese obtained slaves and gold at Rio dos Reys and Os Medãos do Ouro, for which purpose they sent two or three small vessels yearly from Mozambique. Very few Portuguese, he affirmed, were at any time to be found south of Cape Correntes. In his instructions to the secunde Frederik Verburg, who was sent to ascertain if Father Martini's account was correct, Mr. Van Riebeek quoted Linschoten's description of the country as generally believed to be accurate.

The galiot ran along the coast, but did nothing to rectify the errors on the chart. It was during the winter season, and stormy weather was often encountered. A heavy surf was rolling in on the land, so that after leaving Mossel Bay no communication was had with the shore, and upon reaching the latitude of Delagoa Bay, the *Tulp* stood eastward for Madagascar. At the bay of Antongil the natives were found to be friendly, and a considerable quantity of rice was purchased, with which the galiot returned to the Cape.

In July two vessels arrived with supplies. The first was the yacht *Goudsbloem*, from home, bringing with her an English sloop of seventy tons, which she had captured on the passage. The name of this vessel was changed from the *Merchant* to the *Kaap Vogel*, and as she was too lightly timbered for use on this coast, she was sent to Java. A few days later the yacht *Haas* arrived from Batavia with a quantity of rice. With her came the first of a class of persons afterwards numerous in South Africa, and whose descendants form at the present day an important element in the population of Capetown. Four Asiatics had been sentenced by the high court of justice at Batavia to banishment and hard labour for life, of whom three were sent in the *Haas* to the island of Mauritius,

which was then in the Company's possession, and one was brought to the fort Good Hope.

On account of the war with England, the governor-general and council of India ordered a day to be set apart for prayer that the Almighty would bless their righteous cause, and thanksgiving for the mercies vouchsafed to them. In the Indian seas they had secured five rich prizes, and had not lost as yet a single ship. Mr. Van Riebeek considered that in the case of the dwellers in the fort Good Hope there was cause for special thanksgiving. They had been in sore distress for want of food, and God had sent them abundance. He had so favoured the *Tulp* that she made the voyage to St. Helena and back in only forty-one days. Then He had given to the *Goudsbloem* such success that she had not only reached her destination safely and speedily, but also brought an English prize with her. And lastly He had filled the sails of the *Haas* with a favouring breeze, so that now there was plenty in their stores. The 23rd of July was for all these reasons set apart and observed as a holy day.

On the 15th of August the yacht *Vlieland* arrived from Texel, having made a very rapid passage, for she brought news to the 19th of May. She was sent by the directors to convey tidings of the peace which had been concluded between the States and the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Hereafter the English were to be treated as friends, for one of the articles of peace was that ships of either nation visiting the harbours of the other were to be permitted freely to purchase stores, provisions, or any other necessaries.

A few months after this, the English ship *East India Merchant*, bound to Bantam, put into Table Bay, and was liberally supplied with vegetables. Her officers were entertained on several occasions by the commander, and in return the officers of the fort were invited on board, where they were very well received. An exchange of presents took place, and a little trade was carried on between them.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MR. VAN RIEBEEK'S ADMINISTRATION—(*continued*).

THE conclusion of peace with their great maritime rival enabled the Company to send out this season without risk a large fleet to India, and in a short time no fewer than twenty-one vessels called at Table Bay on their way eastward. All were supplied with vegetables in abundance. Some of these ships had lost as many as fifty men on the passage, and when they dropped anchor had over a hundred helpless with scurvy. It would have been impossible for a little state like the United Provinces to keep great fleets afloat with such a terrible loss of life occurring year after year, if it had not been that the lower ranks of the service were very largely recruited from foreign countries. The advantage of the Cape as a port of refreshment can hardly be realised without a knowledge of the ravages caused by scurvy in those days. The fresh provisions obtained here saved hundreds of lives yearly, and the detention was not so very great, for it was usual to put the feeblest men ashore and to take healthy ones in their place. The officers, in order to gain the premium of fifty pounds sterling for making the passage to Batavia within six months, at first sometimes ran past without calling, but when this became known the temptation was removed by adding to the six months the time spent here.

During this summer from twenty to thirty men were kept employed at Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay in connection with the sealing establishments, and the galiot *Roode Vos* was engaged pretty constantly in going backwards and

forwards. The commander believed that the profits on the seal skins alone would more than defray the Company's expenses at the Cape, but the directors did not endorse his opinion. The *Tulp* was sent to St. Helena for some horses which were taken past in a ship from Batavia, and to try to recover those set ashore there from Van Teylingen's fleet, but she returned with only two. It was in this season that the first vine stocks were introduced. They came from the borders of the Rhine, and were received by one of the outward bound ships.

Since the robbery of the Company's cattle by the beachrangers in October 1653, very little trade had been done with the Hottentots. These people were still treated by the commander with kindness, but it was only because he had no choice in the matter. In this early stage of the colony's existence, the policy to be pursued towards the wild inhabitants was already regarded differently in the mother country and in South Africa. The directors wrote to Mr. Van Riebeek that the actual murderer of the youth David Janssen should be put to death, if he could be discovered, and that if necessary Harry could be sent as a prisoner to Batavia, but none of the other beachrangers were to be molested. Only the same number of cattle as were stolen should be seized in reprisal, and none were to be taken except from the robbers.

The commander replied that it would be impossible to detect the real perpetrator of the murder, and that the robbers had nothing to be seized. He admitted that to retaliate upon their allies would cause a war, unless the whole were made prisoners at once. The correct way of relieving the settlement of a horde of idle and useless robbers would be to reduce them to servitude. He maintained that the provocation received was ample to justify such a proceeding, while the advantages of obtaining ten or twelve hundred head of cattle to breed from, and a large number of slaves for service on the islands and in Batavia, would be very great.

The Kaapmans had of late visited Table Valley in large parties, and their conduct had every appearance of hostility. The Europeans were replacing their frail wooden houses with substantial brick buildings, they had turned about twelve morgen* of ground into gardens, and dull as the Hottentots were, they could not but see that all this industry meant permanent occupation. This was not what they desired. They were willing for Europeans to come and trade with them, even to remain for months, as the *Haarlem's* crew had done, but to be excluded for ever from any portion of their pastures was not to their liking. They came and made their huts on the very margin of the moat, and when they were requested to move a little farther away they replied that the ground was theirs and they would build wherever they chose. Everything that was left unguarded was stolen by them. They even cut the brass buttons off the clothing of some children who were playing outside the fort. The workmen could only move about in companies and with arms in their hands. So apprehensive was the commander that they would proceed to the length of attacking the fort, that he caused the sentries to be doubled and extraordinary precautions to be observed. He was under the impression that Harry was at the bottom of all the mischief, and that the Kaapmans were following his advice. If he could be communicated with and induced to return to the fort all might yet be well, but where he was no one would say.

Meantime it was with difficulty that the workmen were restrained from avenging the insults daily received. It was evident also that as long as the Kaapmans remained here, the clans farther inland would not bring cattle for sale, because there were constant feuds between them. Mr. Van Riebeek at this time began to conceive the idea of entering into a treaty of friendship with some of the distant clans, enemies of those who were giving him so much

* A morgen is equal to 2·11654 English acres, and is consequently rather smaller than a hectare, which is equal to 2·47114299 English acres.

trouble. But nothing was then known of such clans beyond the fact that they were in existence. Their names, strength, relationship to each other, and places of abode, were yet to be discovered. The commander had, however, no difficulty in finding men ready to go in quest of the knowledge required, and as soon as he expressed his wishes a party of volunteers came forward.

In the service of the East India Company, recruited as it was in all the Protestant countries of Europe, there were never wanting adventurers ready for any enterprise of hazard or daring. And it was a feat almost of rashness in the autumn of 1655 for a few men to attempt to penetrate the interior of this country. It was certain that there were enemies behind, and who was to say what foes and dangers there might not be in front? Serving in the garrison of the fort Good Hope, in a capacity only one step higher than that of a common soldier, was a man named Jan Wintervogel. He had been the leader of a band of explorers in the service of the Netherlands West India Company in Brazil, and had assisted in the discovery of a silver mine in that country. Then, starting westward from the Atlantic shore of the continent, he had travelled until he looked out upon the waters of the Great South sea. How he came into the East India Company's service is not stated, but here he was on the 15th of March 1655 ready to repeat in Africa his exploits in South America. Seven soldiers volunteered to accompany him.

The party was supplied with provisions for three weeks, and took six pounds or nearly three kilogrammes of tobacco, the same quantity of copper bars, and some beads, as samples of goods to be obtained at the fort in exchange for cattle. Their instructions were to learn as much as they could of the country, to try to induce some of the clans to the northward to come to the fort for the purpose of entering into alliance with the Europeans, and to search for precious metals.

The route taken by the exploring party cannot be accurately laid down, but it appears to have been in the direction

of the present village of Malmesbury, that course being chosen to avoid the mountain barrier that extended north and south on their right hand as far as the eye could reach. The travellers came in contact with a party of diminutive Bushmen, who were making ready to assail the strangers with bows and arrows when Wintervogel went towards them with some tobacco in his hands and beckoning in a friendly manner. The savages thereupon dropped their arrows, and accepted the tobacco, with the use of which they seem to have been acquainted. Wintervogel ascertained nothing more than that they had neither cattle nor huts, and that they were enemies of all their neighbours. He afterwards met several small parties of Hottentots, by all of whom he was treated in a friendly manner, and a large horde with great herds of cattle, of which they seemed disposed to part with some for flat copper bars and tobacco. None of them could be induced to come to the fort while the Goringhaiquas were in the neighbourhood. One of the party, named Jan de Vos, died from having eaten too many bitter almonds, but the others met with no accident. The explorers were absent from the fort nineteen days. They brought back some useful knowledge, but the most important result of the expedition was in proving that such undertakings could be conducted with safety.

The difficulty that had been so pressing came to an end for a time by the unexpected return of Harry to the fort. On the 23rd of June he made his appearance with fifty strangers, who brought forty head of cattle for sale. He made some very lame excuses for his long absence, and denied flatly that he had taken part in the robbery of the Company's cattle or the murder of Janssen. The commander was so well satisfied with his return that he received him in a friendly manner and pretended to believe all that he said. From what occurred afterwards, it seems probable that Mr. Van Riebeek's suspicions of the mischief caused by Harry during his absence were correct, for a brisk cattle trade at once commenced and continued during the winter. Towards

spring the Hottentots by whom it was carried on removed from the peninsula, and Harry then proposed that he should be sent with a trading party to follow them.

The commander called together a council to consider this proposal. Frederik Verburg was absent in the *Tulp*, so that there was no one of the rank of a junior merchant at the fort, and the council consisted, besides the commander, of the pilot, the sergeant, and two corporals. The clerk Roelof de Man kept a record of the debates. It was resolved to send out a trading party, to consist of the interpreter Harry and nine soldiers under command of Corporal Willem Muller. They were to take a good quantity of provisions, and for trading purposes flat copper bars, brass wire, beads, pipes, and tobacco, all of which was to be carried by four pack oxen.

The party left the fort on the 7th of September, and was accompanied by a number of Hottentots, men, women, and children. They crossed over to the shore of False Bay, and then continued for some distance close to the coast, travelling a few kilometres every day. When the provisions were nearly exhausted, the Europeans were obliged to turn back, but they left Harry to continue the journey, and gave the merchandise over to him. They were absent four weeks, but made no discovery of importance. The journal kept by Corporal Muller contains only one item that is of interest.

He says that they came to a certain great flat rock which was in their way, when the Hottentot women gathered some green branches, and holding these in their hands fell prostrate upon the stone with their faces to it, at the same time giving utterance to some words which the Europeans could not understand. When asked what this meant, the women pointed upwards, as if to signify that it was an act of worship.

Harry did not return until the 8th of December, when he brought thirteen head of cattle to the fort, but it was discovered soon afterwards that he had acquired a large

herd in exchange for the merchandise, and had reserved the best of them for himself. During his absence a clan that was very rich in cattle visited the peninsula. They came from the country about the north and east of Saldanha Bay, and were under a chief named Gonnema, who, on account of his using soot instead of clay to paint himself with, was usually called the Black Captain by the Europeans. During the month of November there were not less than ten or twelve thousand head of horned cattle grazing within an hour's walk of the fort. One of Gonnema's encampments at Rondebosch contained fully two hundred huts, which were ranged in a great circle, according to the usual Hottentot custom. The spaces between the huts were closed in with thickly wattled fences, so that the whole formed an enormous fold or corral, in which the cattle were secured from ravenous animals and hostile raiders at night. From this circumstance, a Hottentot village as well as an enclosure for cattle soon came to be spoken of in South Africa as a corral or kraal, a word then in common use in India and America, though unknown to the Dutch and to African languages.

From Gonnema's people three or four hundred head of horned cattle and as many sheep were obtained in barter, and a thousand of each could have been secured if the supply of copper had not become exhausted. The sheep were placed on Robben Island as a reserve stock, the pasture there being exceedingly good. The trade was carried on through the medium of two Hottentots who had picked up a smattering of the Dutch language. One of these was a beachranger called Klaas Das, because he had been sent to Dassen Island to learn Dutch from the seal hunters. The other was a Kaapman who was called Doman, because Mr. Van Riebeek said he looked as innocent and honest as a Dominie. He had been for some time living with the Europeans, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. Four years later they had reason to change their opinions concerning him.

In September a cutter of eighteen or twenty tons burden was launched and named the *Robbejacht.* She was built almost entirely of Cape timber, and was intended to be used in connection with the sealing establishments. The galiot *Roode Vos* was sent to Batavia, as she was needed there. During the winter the other galiot belonging to this place made a voyage to St. Helena, from which island she brought some more fruit trees, some pigs, and two horses. Then she was sent to Madagascar to re-open the trade which had been commenced in the bay of Antongil. The secunde Frederik Verburg went in her, leaving here his wife, to whom he had been married only five months. The *Tulp* never returned to the Cape. In the following year tidings were received by a French ship which put into Saldanha Bay that she had taken on board fourteen slaves and some rice at Madagascar. From that date nothing more was heard until March 1657, when four of her crew returned in the French ship *Marichal.* They reported that the galiot was wrecked in a hurricane on the 2nd of December 1655. The crew got safely to shore, and proceeded to the French settlement on the island of St. Mary, where they were attacked by fever, of which Frederik Verburg and eleven others died.

It was in this year 1655 that the directors first resolved to locate free families on ground about the fort, as a means of reducing the Company's expenditure. The plan had been found to answer well in India, and there was reason to believe that it would be equally successful here. Freemen would assist to defend the station, so that the garrison could be reduced, and they would grow food for sale at as cheap rates as the Company could raise it with hired servants.

But as it would take some little time to make the necessary arrangements, the commander bethought him of a scheme by which a few of the most respectable of the Company's servants might be induced ultimately to make South Africa their home. He gave them permission to

cultivate little gardens for themselves, with the right freely to sell their produce whenever there were ships in the bay. The wife of the chief gardener Hendrik Boom having been accustomed to dairy work at home, it was resolved at a meeting of the council to lease the Company's cows to her, by way of encouraging individual enterprise. Boom had a house in the great garden, and was a steady industrious man. His wife, after the custom of those days, was called from her occupation Annetje de boerin. The arrangement made with her was that she was to pay yearly twenty shillings and tenpence for the lease of each cow, that she was to supply milk and butter at fixed charges to the commander,—who was not, however, to demand all,—and that she could sell freely to the ships' people at the best prices which she could obtain. This lease of cows was the first transaction of the kind in South Africa, and it is so fully recorded in the documents of the time, together with the reasons for entering into it, that it merits a slight notice still.

Besides the ships previously mentioned, before the close of 1655 eleven bound outward and twelve bound homeward called at the Cape, and were amply provided with refreshments. There were more vegetables, indeed, than could be made use of. Two English ships also called, both of which were liberally supplied with fresh food. One of them was eight months from London, and after losing many of her crew reached this port with the remainder almost helpless from scurvy. The weakest of her men were taken into the hospital on shore, where the same attention was paid to them as if they had been servants of the Company. The officers were frequent guests at the fort. And it may serve to show the price of garden produce in 1655, to state that the charge made for as great a quantity of vegetables as the men chose to consume was at the rate of two pence a day for each individual.

One of the principal objects of the Company in forming the station was to have a hospital in which sick soldiers

and sailors could be left, thus doing away with the necessity of detaining the ships until their recovery, as they could be drafted into the next fleets that called and needed men. Early in 1656 a large building for this purpose was completed near the seaside in the enclosure in front of the fort, an objectionable situation in a military, and, as afterwards appeared, in a sanitary point of view. Still it answered for more than forty years the purpose for which it was intended.

The attention of the commander was then turned to the construction of a wooden jetty, to facilitate communication with the shipping and to enable seamen easily to get water to their boats. Large and heavy beams were cut in the forests behind the mountain and transported to the beach. There they were formed into square trunks, by fitting their ends across one another in the same way that log huts are built in Canada. The trunks were placed fifteen feet apart in a straight line out into the bay, and as each one was put together it was filled with stones so as to form a pier. Upon these piers a heavy staging was laid down, and when, after two years' labour and by assistance from the crews of calling ships, the jetty was completed, it was an exceedingly solid structure.

After the *Roode Vos* was sent to India, the galiot *Nachtglas* was kept here for general purposes. Among other services she was sent to examine the islands of Tristan da Cunha, to ascertain if they could be made use of in time of war. The report upon them was unfavourable, as no harbour was found.

There was at this time a considerable amount of correspondence concerning the feasibility of converting the Cape promontory into an island, by cutting a wide and deep canal across the isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay. The idea originated with Mr. Ryklof van Goens, admiral of one of the return fleets, who spent a short time at the Cape. After close inspection, the commander reported that to carry out the plan would cost millions of

money, and that it would be of very little use as a means of confining the Hottentots to the mainland and leaving the Europeans undisturbed in the island.

Nearly every garden plant of Europe and India was already cultivated at the Cape, though potatoes and maize were not yet introduced. It was ascertained that seeds attained great perfection here, and on this account large quantities were forwarded yearly to Batavia. Fruit trees of many kinds had also been introduced. Young oaks and firs were sent growing in boxes from Europe, and various kinds of vines from the Rhine provinces and from France were sent out in the same way. Even strawberries and blackberries had been brought from the fatherland. The foreign animals that had been introduced were horses from Java, and pigs, sheep, dogs, and rabbits from Europe. Some rams and ewes were selected from the best flocks in Holland, and were sent here to see how they would answer. Rabbits were sent out on several occasions, and the commander was instructed to have them turned loose upon the islands, but to take care not to allow them to become wild on the mainland, as they increased very rapidly and could do enormous damage to crops.

Every season wheat and barley had been sown, but the crop had invariably failed. Just as it was getting ripe, the south-east winds came sweeping through the valley and utterly destroyed it. But it was noticed that even when a perfect storm was blowing at the fort, there was nothing more than a pleasant breeze back of the Devil's peak. The woodcutters in the forests there reported that the wind never rose to a gale, and the commander himself, after frequently visiting the locality, was able to verify the statement. He determined then to try if grain could not be raised there. At a place where a round grove of thorn trees was standing,—from which it was called at first Ronde Doorn Bossien and afterwards Rondebosch,—a plot of ground was laid under the plough, and some wheat, oats, and barley were sown as an experiment. A small guard

house was built of sods, in which a couple of men were stationed to look after the ground. The experiment was most successful, for the grain throve wonderfully well and yielded a very large return.

The pilfering habits of the Hottentots had always been a source of annoyance to the Europeans, but hitherto the commander had not proceeded to the length of punishing the offenders. The beachrangers in Table Valley were supposed to be under the jurisdiction of Harry, who was now a rich captain, having a large herd of cattle purchased, so the commander states, with the Company's goods. One day a plough was left in the garden, with a chain attached to it, which was soon missing. This article could not be of any use to the thieves, and must therefore have been stolen purposely to annoy the Europeans. Mr. Van Riebeek hereupon caused three head of cattle belonging to Harry to be seized, and announced that he intended to keep them until the chain was restored. Harry protested that he was innocent of the theft, but the commander was firm in his refusal to give up the cattle. This course of action had the desired effect, for it was not long before the stolen article was brought back, when the cattle were released.

The next difficulty with Harry was concerning the pasture. There was not sufficient grass in the neighbourhood of the fort for his cattle and those of the Company, and so Mr. Van Riebeek informed him that he must move. Harry replied that the ground was his. The commander answered that the Company had taken possession of it, and would not permit him to remain unless he would sell some of his oxen. Mr. Van Riebeek then proposed a plan which would be advantageous to both parties. Harry should become a great cattle dealer, and undertake to supply ten head for each large and five for each small ship entering the bay, also one ox and one sheep every fourth day for the use of the garrison. For these, which he was to purchase from his countrymen at a distance, he was to be paid such quantities of copper and tobacco as would leave him a fair profit. Harry

consented, but after the very first delivery he broke his contract by moving away. Many of the poorest of Gogosoa's people as well as the beachrangers were at this time living in Table Valley, where they managed to exist by cutting and carrying fuel and occasionally performing any light labour in return for food.

The settlement was beginning to expand. In May the council resolved to offer to all the men who had families with them as much garden ground as they cared to cultivate, free of rent or tax for the first three years. At the same time the women and children were struck off rations and a money payment instead was made to the heads of families, according to the custom in India. This was a great incentive to gardening, poultry rearing, and other industries. Annetje de Boerin, wife of Hendrik Boom, who was farming the Company's cows, was privileged to open a house of accommodation, chiefly for visitors from the ships. A similar license was granted shortly afterwards to the wife of Sergeant Jan van Harwarden.

The damage caused by wild animals was very great. The carnivora destroyed oxen, sheep, and poultry, and the grysbucks, besides trampling down the beds in the gardens, ate the young sprouts off the vines. It was not safe for people to go out at night. On one occasion two guards at the cattle kraal were badly wounded by a leopard, and once as the commander was walking in the garden a lion was seen at no great distance. A fine large stud horse, the only one in the settlement, was torn to pieces and devoured close to the fort.

The council then decided to offer premiums for the destruction of these ravenous animals. Twenty-five shillings was the reward offered for a lion, sixteen shillings and eight pence for a hyena, and twelve shillings and six pence for a leopard. In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the commander. These premiums, be it remembered, represent a much greater purchasing power than the same amounts nowadays. At that time twenty-

five shillings was a larger sum of money than a labourer earned in a month, and there were very few individuals at the Cape who were getting such wages. The commander himself was in receipt of only £7 10*s.* until 1656, when his monthly salary was raised to £10 16*s.* 8*d.* Such large rewards as these show, therefore, how destructive the lions and leopards must have been. The skin of the first lion that was shot was hung up as a trophy in the great hall of the commander's residence, where religious services were held. The next laws in reference to game were made for the preservation of herbivorous animals. The Company kept two hunters employed in procuring venison for the use of the garrison. Every one else was prohibited from shooting other animals than those for which a reward was offered, under penalty of a fine equal to forty shillings of our money and the forfeiture of the gun if it was private property.

During the winter of 1656, there was a good deal of sickness among the people, which the council considered to be beyond doubt a punishment inflicted upon them for their sins. It was therefore resolved to set apart Thursday the 29th of June as a day of fasting and prayer to the Almighty to have mercy upon them. The people were admonished not to sit down to their meals, as some of them had been in the habit of doing, without asking a blessing from God before eating and returning thanks afterwards. Those who disobeyed this injunction were to be fined a shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on, in addition to arbitrary correction. A few weeks later a placaat was issued against bathing or washing clothes in the river above the place from which water for culinary purposes was taken, so it may be inferred that perhaps the particular sin of which the people had been guilty was a disregard of the laws of health.

In October it was arranged that for the present the council should consist on ordinary occasions of the commander Jan van Riebeek, the sergeant Jan van Harwarden,

and the bookkeeper Roelof de Man. When sitting as a court of justice or as a military tribunal, the constable of the fortress and the two corporals were also to have seats. The records of proceedings were to be kept by the clerk Caspar van Weede, who was also to perform the duty of fiscal.

On account of there being no clergyman here, marriages at this time took place before the secretary of the council, but it was necessary that the banns should be published three times by the sick-comforter. The ceremony was usually performed on Sunday mornings after the reading of the sermon. One or two marriages were solemnised by the chaplains of ships that called, as for instance that of the late secunde Frederik Verburg, whose bride was the clergyman's sister. Up to the end of 1656 the marriages that took place in the fort were as follows:—Adolphus Bengevoort and Janneken Willems, Jacob Ryniers and Elizabeth van Opdorp, Pieter van Duyne and Sebastiana van Opdorp, Jacobus van der Kerkhoven and Elizabeth Stadtlanders, and Jan Wouters and Catharina, a freed slave, daughter of Anthonie, of Bengal.

Marriages such as this last were encouraged in those days. Mr. Van Riebeek has left on record his opinion of the advantages derived by the Portuguese from the large mixed population of their possessions in the East, without whose assistance their fortresses could not have been held so long, and he thought it advisable that the Netherlanders should have a similar link between themselves and the coloured inhabitants of their dominions. A hundred years later very different views were held, but in the middle of the seventeenth century no distinction whatever appears to have been made between people on account of colour. A profession of Christianity placed black and white upon the same level. The possessions of the heathen were the inheritance of God's people, and could be taken from them without sin. The heathen themselves could be enslaved, but Christians could not be kept in bondage. The archives

of the Cape Colony contain numerous illustrations of this doctrine. A black professing Christianity was spoken of in identically the same language as a white. Thus Catharina, the Bengalese slave girl, who was placed in freedom by Admiral Bogaert, as soon as she was baptized was styled "de eerbare jonge dochter," and the commander's own niece was spoken of in precisely the same words.

The number of foreign ships that touched at the Cape was very small. Mr. Van Riebeek asked the directors to give him explicit instructions as to the treatment of strangers, and was informed that they were to be allowed to catch fish and to take in water freely, but they were not to be supplied with refreshments, as the Company needed all that could be obtained for its own ships. Courtesy was to be observed, and the commander was to use discretion and not give offence needlessly. But the expense of keeping up an establishment at the Cape was incurred solely for the Company's own benefit and not for the accommodation of strangers. In the year 1656 forty-four vessels put into Table Bay. Of these, thirty-five belonged to the Company, five were English, and four were French. The English and French were treated in as friendly a manner as could have been expected under the circumstances. They were permitted to purchase vegetables from those individuals who had gardens, and exchanges of presents were made, though the commander in writing to the directors excused his liberality by stating that the beef which on two occasions he sent on board was of unsound cattle.

The preliminary arrangements for releasing some of the Company's servants from their engagements and helping them to become farmers were at length completed, and on the 21st of February 1657 ground was allotted to the first burghers in the Cape Colony. Before that date individuals had been permitted to make gardens for their own private benefit, but these persons still remained in the Company's service. They were mostly petty officers with families, who drew money instead of rations, and who could derive a

portion of their food from their gardens, as well as make a trifle occasionally by the sale of vegetables. The free burghers, as they were afterwards termed, formed a very different class, as they were subjects, not servants, of the Company.

For more than a year the workmen as well as the officers had been meditating upon the project, and revolving in their minds whether they would be better off as free men or as servants. At length nine of them determined to make the trial. They formed themselves into two parties, and after selecting ground for occupation, presented themselves before the council and concluded the final arrangements. There were present that day at the council table in the commander's hall, Mr. Van Riebeek, Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, and the bookkeeper Roelof de Man. The proceedings were taken down at great length by the secretary Caspar van Weede.

The first party consisted of five men, named Herman Remajenne, Jan de Wacht, Jan van Passel, Warnar Cornelissen, and Roelof Janssen. They had selected a tract of land just beyond the Liesbeek, and had given to it the name of Groeneveld, or the Green Country. There they intended to apply themselves chiefly to the cultivation of wheat. And as Remajenne was the principal person among them, they called themselves Herman's Colony.

The second party was composed of four men, named Stephen Botma,* Hendrik Elbrechts,† Otto Janssen, and Jacob Cornelissen. The ground of their selection was on the northern side of the Liesbeek, and they had given it the name of Hollandsche Thuin, or the Dutch garden. They stated that it was their intention to cultivate tobacco as well as

* Called Stephen Janssen, that is Stephen the son of John, in the records of the time. More than twenty years later he first appears as Stephen Botma. From him sprang the present South African family of that name.

† Also written Elberts and Elbers in the records of the period. His descendants in the male line died out at an early date, but in the female line they are still to be found in South Africa. He and Botma were the only permanent colonists among the nine.

grain. Henceforth this party was known as Stephen's Colony. Both companies were desirous of growing vegetables and of breeding cattle, pigs, and poultry.

The conditions under which these men were released from the Company's service were as follow:—

They were to have in full possession all the ground which they could bring under cultivation within three years, during which time they were to be free of taxes.

After the expiration of three years they were to pay a reasonable land tax. They were then to be at liberty to sell, lease, or otherwise alienate their ground, but not without first communicating with the commander or his representative.

Such provisions as they should require out of the magazine were to be supplied to them at the same price as to the Company's married servants.

They were to be at liberty to catch as much fish in the rivers as they should require for their own consumption.

They were to be at liberty to sell freely to the crews of ships any vegetables which the Company might not require for the garrison, but they were not to go on board ships until three days after arrival, and were not to bring any strong drink on shore.

They were not to keep taps, but were to devote themselves to the cultivation of the ground and the rearing of cattle.

They were not to purchase horned cattle, sheep, or anything else from the Hottentots, under penalty of forfeiture of all their possessions.

They were to purchase such cattle as they needed from the Company, at the rate of thirty-four shillings and nine pence for an ox or cow and four shillings and two pence for a sheep. They were to sell cattle only to the Company, but all they offered were to be taken at the above prices.

They were to pay to the Company for pasture one-tenth of all the cattle reared, but under this clause no pigs or poultry were to be claimed.

The Company was to furnish them upon credit, at cost price in the fatherland, with all such implements as were necessary to carry on their work, with food, and with guns, powder, and lead for their defence. In payment they were to deliver the produce of their ground, and the Company was to hold a mortgage upon all their possessions.

They were to be subject to such laws as were in force in the fatherland and in India, and to such as should thereafter be made for the service of the Company and the welfare of the community.

These regulations could be altered or amended at will by the supreme authorities.

The two parties immediately took possession of their ground, and commenced to build themselves houses. They had very little more than two months to spare before the rainy season would set in, but that was sufficient time to run up sod walls and cover them with roofs of thatch. The forests from which timber was obtained were at no great distance, and all the other materials needed were close at hand. And so they were under shelter and ready to turn over the ground when the first rains of the season fell. There was a scarcity of farming implements at first, but that was soon remedied.

On the 17th of March a ship arrived from home, having on board an officer of high rank, named Ryklof van Goens, who was afterwards governor-general of Netherlands India. This ship had been in sight off the coast of Brazil, and had then run down to the fortieth parallel of latitude in order to get the west wind, but in the middle of February she fell in with icebergs and cold stormy weather, so that all on board were delighted when she reached Table Bay.

Mr. Van Goens had been instructed to rectify anything that he might find amiss here, and he thought the conditions under which the burghers held their ground could be improved. He therefore made several alterations in them, and also inserted some fresh clauses, the most important of which were as follow:—

The freemen were to have plots of land along the Liesbeek, in size forty roods by two hundred—equal to thirteen morgen and a third or twenty-eight English acres and a quarter—free of taxes for twelve years.

All farming utensils were to be repaired free of charge for three years.

In order to procure a good stock of breeding cattle, the freemen were to be at liberty to purchase from the Hottentots, until further instructions should be received, but they were not to pay more than the Company. The price of horned cattle between the freemen and the Company was reduced from thirty-four shillings and nine pence to sixteen shillings and eight pence.

The penalty to be paid by a burgher for selling cattle except to the Company was fixed at eighty-three shillings and four pence.

That they might direct their attention chiefly to the cultivation of grain, the freemen were not to plant tobacco, or even more vegetables than were needed for their own consumption.

The burghers were to keep guard by turns in any redoubts which should be built for their protection.

They were not to shoot any wild animals except such as were noxious. To promote the destruction of ravenous animals the premiums were increased, viz., for a lion to thirty-four shillings and nine pence, for a hyena to twenty-seven shillings and nine pence, and for a leopard to thirteen shillings and ten pence.

None but married men of good character and of Dutch or German birth were to have ground allotted to them. Upon their request, their wives and children were to be sent to them from Europe. In every case they were to agree to remain twenty years in South Africa.

Unmarried men could be released from service to work as mechanics, or if they were specially adapted for any useful employment, or if they would engage themselves for a term of years to the holders of ground.

One of the most respectable burghers was to have a seat and a vote in the court of justice whenever cases affecting freemen or their interests were being tried. He was to have the title of burgher councillor, and was to hold office for a year, when another should be selected and have the honour transferred to him. To this office Stephen Botma was appointed for the first term.

The commissioner drew up lengthy instructions for the guidance of the Cape government, in which the commander was directed to encourage and assist the burghers, as they would relieve the Company of the payment of a large amount of wages. There were then exactly one hundred persons in the settlement in receipt of wages, and as soon as the farmers were sufficiently numerous, this number was to be reduced to seventy.

Many of the restrictions under which the Company's servants became burghers were vexatious, and would be deemed intolerable at the present day. But in 1657 men heard very little of individual rights or of unrestricted trade. They were accustomed to the interference of the government in almost everything, and as to free trade, it was simply impossible. The Netherlands could only carry on commerce with the East by means of a powerful Company, able to conduct expensive wars and maintain great fleets without drawing upon the resources of the State. Individual interests were therefore lost sight of even at home, much more so in such a settlement as that at the Cape, which was called into existence by the Company solely and entirely for its own benefit.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MR. VAN RIEBEEK'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

A COMMENCEMENT having been made, there were a good many persons desirous of becoming corngrowers and gardeners. Most of them, however, soon found such occupations unsuited to their habits, and either re-entered the Company's service, or went back to the fatherland. The names of some who remained in South Africa have died out, but others have numerous descendants in this country at the present day. There are even instances in which the same christian name has been transmitted from father to son in unbroken succession. In addition to those already mentioned, the following individuals received free papers within the next twelvemonth:—

Wouter Mostert, who was for many years one of the leading men in the settlement. He had been a miller in the fatherland, and followed the same occupation here after becoming a burgher. The Company had imported a corn mill to be worked by horses, but after a short time it was decided to make use of the water of the Fresh river as a motive power. Mostert contracted to build the new mill, and when it was in working order he took charge of it on shares of the payments made for grinding.

Hendrik Boom, the gardener, whose name has already been frequently mentioned.

Caspar Brinkman, Pieter Visagie,* Hans Faesbenger, Jacob Cloete,* Jan Reyniers, Jacob Theunissen, Jan Rietvelt, Otto van Vrede, and Simon Janssen, who had land assigned to them as farmers.

*Numerous descendants now in South Africa.

Herman Ernst, Cornelis Claasen,* Thomas Robertson (an Englishman), Isaac Manget, Klaas Frederiksen, Klaas Schriever, and Hendrik Fransen, who took service with farmers.

Christian Janssen and Pieter Cornelissen, who received free papers because they had been expert hunters in the Company's service. It was arranged that they should continue to follow that employment, in which they were granted a monopoly, and prices were fixed at which they were to sell all kinds of game. They were also privileged to keep a tap for the sale of strong drink.

Leendert Cornelissen, a ship's carpenter, who received a grant of a strip of forest at the foot of the mountain. His object was to cut timber for sale, for all kinds of which prices were fixed by the council.

Elbert Dirksen and Hendrik van Surwerden, who were to get a living as tailors.

Jan Vetteman, the surgeon of the fort. He arranged for a monopoly of practice in his profession and for various other privileges.

Roelof Zieuwerts, who was to get his living as a waggon and plough maker, and to whom a small piece of forest was granted.

Martin Vlockaart, Pieter Jacobs, and Jan Adriansen, who were to maintain themselves as fishermen.

Pieter Kley, Dirk Vreem, and Pieter Heynse, who were to saw yellow wood planks for sale, as well as to work at their occupation as carpenters.

Hendrik Schaik, Willem Petersen, Dirk Rinkes, Michiel van Swol, Dirk Noteboom, Frans Gerritsen, and Jan Zacharias, who are mentioned merely as having become burghers.

Besides the regulations concerning the burghers, the commissioner Van Goens drew up copious instructions on general subjects for the guidance of the government. He prohibited the Company's servants from cultivating larger gardens than they required for their own use, but he ex-

* Numerous descendants now in South Africa.

cepted the commander, to whom he granted the whole of the ground at Green Point as a private farm. As a rule, the crews of foreign ships were not to be provided with vegetables or meat, but were to be permitted to take in water freely. The commander was left some discretion in dealing with them, but the tenor of the instructions was that they were not to be encouraged to visit Table Bay.

Regarding the Hottentots, they were to be treated kindly, so as to obtain their goodwill. If any of them assaulted or robbed a burgher, those suspected should be seized and placed upon Robben Island until they made known the offenders, when they should be released and the guilty persons be banished to the island for two or three years. If any of them committed murder, the criminal should be put to death, but the commander should endeavour to have the execution performed by the Hottentots themselves.

Caution was to be observed that no foreign language should continue to be spoken by any slaves who might hereafter be brought into the country. Equal care was to be taken that no other weights or measures than those in use in the fatherland should be introduced. The measure of length was laid down as twelve Rhynland inches to the foot, twelve feet to the rood, and two thousand roods to the mile, so that fifteen miles would be equal to a degree of latitude. In measuring land, six hundred square roods were to make a morgen. The land measure thus introduced is used in the Cape Colony to the present day. In calculating with it, it must be remembered that one thousand Rhynland feet are equal to one thousand and thirty-three British imperial feet, or 314·85 metres.

The office of secunde, now for a long time vacant, was filled by the promotion of the bookkeeper Roelof de Man. Caspar van Weede was sent to Batavia, and the clerk Abraham Gabbema was appointed secretary of the council in his stead.

In April 1657, when these instructions were issued, the European population consisted of one hundred and thirty-

four individuals, Company's servants and burghers, men, women, and children all told. There were at the Cape three male and eight female slaves.

Concerning the protection of the settlement from the Hottentots there was much discussion between Mr. Van Goens and the commander Van Riebeek. Regarding the Cape peninsula as ample territory for the needs of the Company,—for as yet there was no intention to do more than raise grain, vegetables, fruit, pork, and poultry, together with a few sheep and the horses and horned cattle required for working, the Hottentots being depended upon for most of the beef and mutton needed for the garrison and the fleets,—both considered that if the isthmus could be made impassable the dwellers in Table Valley and along the Liesbeek would enjoy complete security. Mr. Van Goens brought forward again his old scheme of a canal, which the commander had written so unfavourably of to the directors. The land between Table Bay and False Bay he observed was as flat as Holland, and the soil was easily dug. He caused the distance to be measured, when it was found to be five thousand one hundred and twenty-five roods, or a little more than nineteen kilometres. Jan van Harwarden, who had served long in the army under the Prince of Orange and was well acquainted with digging and delving, was called upon for an estimate of the labour required, the canal to be four metres wide and two metres deep. The sergeant did not take long to consider the question. He would undertake to complete the work in three months, he stated, with seventy good men.

Mr. Van Goens believed that if there were plenty of tools it could be done within two months by the crews of the ships *Orangien*, *Malacca*, and *Phœnix*, then in port, and without detaining the last two longer than fourteen days beyond the time they must in any case remain. The sea in winter, driven before the north-west wind, he thought, would then widen and deepen the canal, it might be even sufficiently to permit a ship to sail through or

anchor within it. The only difficulty that was apparent was the drifting sand that would be carried to and fro, and that he regarded as a real danger, for in time it might even destroy Table Bay. Still, upon the whole, it would be worth risking, for there was no other way of securing the peninsula except by Mr. Van Riebeek's plan of a line of at least fifteen redoubts connected with walls, which would be vastly more expensive.

Ultimately the matter was left for the decision of the directors, before whom both schemes were laid; but they chose rather to endeavour to avert trouble with the Hottentots than to undertake either.

In the meantime, until instructions could be received from the Netherlands, the commissioner deemed it prudent to strengthen the fort Good Hope by enlarging the moat around it. Mr. Van Riebeek was of opinion that a width of three metres would be ample, but Mr. Van Goens had seen how nimble-footed the Hottentots were, and he believed that they could spring over such a moat without difficulty. In his view it should be nearly five metres wide, which would ensure safety, for though the Hottentots were so agile on dry land they were very indifferent swimmers. This width was settled upon, but the work was postponed for more pressing duties, and eventually it dropped out of sight.

Commissioner Van Goens permitted the burghers to purchase cattle from the Hottentots, provided they gave in exchange no more than the Company was offering. A few weeks after he left South Africa, three of the farmers turned this license to account, by equipping themselves and going upon a trading journey. Travelling in an easterly direction, they soon reached a district in which five or six hundred Hottentots were found, by whom they were received in a friendly manner. The Europeans could not sleep in the huts on account of vermin and filth, neither could they pass the night without some shelter, as lions and other wild animals were numerous in that part of the country. The Hottentots came to their assistance by col-

lecting a great quantity of thorn bushes, with which they formed a high circular hedge, inside of which the strangers slept in safety. Being already well supplied with copper, the wild people were not disposed to part with cattle, and the burghers were obliged to return with only two oxen and three sheep. They understood those with whom they conversed to say that the district was the choicest portion of the whole country, for which reason they gave it the name of Hottentots-Holland.

For many months none of the pastoral Hottentots had been at the fort, when one day in July Harry presented himself before the commander. He had come, he said, to ask where they could let their cattle graze, as they observed that the Europeans were cultivating the ground along the Liesbeek. Mr. Van Riebeek replied that they had better remain where they were, which was at a distance of eight or ten hours' journey on foot from the fort. Harry informed him that it was not their custom to remain long in one place, and that if they were deprived of a retreat here they would soon be ruined by their enemies. The commander then stated that they might come and live behind the mountains, along by Hout Bay, or on the slope of the Lion's head, if they would trade with him. But to this Harry would not consent, as he said they lived upon the produce of their cattle.

The difficulty with the earlier inhabitants had already become, what it has been ever since, a most important question for solution. Mr. Van Riebeek was continually devising some scheme for its settlement, and a large portion of his despatches had reference to the subject. At this time his favourite plan was to build a chain of redoubts across the isthmus and to connect them with a wall. A large party of the Kaapmans was then to be enticed within the line, with their families and cattle, and when once on the peninsula side none but men were ever to be allowed to go beyond it again. They were to be compelled to sell their cattle, but were to be provided with goods so that the men could purchase more,

and they were to be allowed a fair profit on trading transactions. The women and children were to be kept as guarantees for the return of the men. In this manner, the commander thought, a good supply of cattle could be secured, and all difficulties with the Hottentots be removed. But the directors would not give him an opportunity to make the experiment, for the expense frightened them.

During the five years of their residence at the Cape, the Europeans had acquired some knowledge of the condition of the earlier inhabitants. They had ascertained that all the little clans in the neighbourhood, whether Goringhaikonas, Gorachouquas, or Goringhaiquas, were members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was the principal chief. The clans were often at war, as the Goringhaikonas and the Goringhaiquas in 1652, but they showed a common front against the next tribe or great division of people whose chiefs owned relationship to each other. The wars between the clans usually seemed to be mere forays with a view of getting possession of women and cattle, while between the tribes hostilities were often waged with great bitterness. Of the tribes at a distance, Mr. Van Riebeek knew nothing more than a few names. Clans calling themselves the Grigriqua, the Cochoqua, and the Chainouqua had been to the fort, and from the last of these one hundred and thirty head of cattle had recently been purchased, but as yet their position with regard to others was not made out. The predatory habits of the Bushmen were well known, as also that they were enemies of everyone else, but it was supposed that they were merely another Hottentot clan.*

* There is great confusion of names in the early records whenever Hottentot clans are spoken of. Sometimes it is stated that Gogosoa's people called themselves the Goringhaiqua or Goringhaina, at other times the same clan is called the Goringhaikona. Harry's people were sometimes termed the Watermans, sometimes the Strandloopers (beachrangers). The Bushmen were at first called Visman by Mr. Van Riebeek, but he soon adopted the word *Sonqua*, which he spelt in various ways. This is evidently a form of the Hottentot name for these people, as may be seen from the following words, which are used by a Hottentot clan at the

Some stories which Eva told greatly interested the commander. After the return of the beachrangers to Table Valley she had gone back to live in Mr. Van Riebeek's house, and was now at the age of fifteen or sixteen years able to speak Dutch fluently. The ordinary interpreter, Doman with the honest face, was so attached to the Europeans that he had gone to Batavia with Commissioner Van Goens, and Eva was now employed in his stead. She told the commander that the Namaquas were a people living in the interior, who had white skins and long hair, that they wore clothing and made their black slaves cultivate the ground, and that they built stone houses and had religious services just the same as Netherlanders. There were others, she said, who had gold and precious stones in abundance, and a Hottentot who brought some cattle for sale corroborated her statement, and asserted that he was familiar with everything of the kind that was exhibited to him except a diamond. He stated that one of his wives had been brought up in the house of a great lord named Chobona, and that she was in possession of abundance of gold ornaments and jewels. Mr. Van Riebeek invited him pressingly to return at once and bring her to the fort, but he replied that, being accustomed to sit at home and be waited upon by numerous servants, she would be unable to travel so far. An offer to send a waggon for her was rejected on the ground that the sight of Europeans would frighten her to death. All that could be obtained from this ingenious storyteller was a promise to bring his wife to the fort on some future occasion.

After this the commander was more than ever anxious to have the interior of the country explored, to open up a

present day:—Nominative singular, *Sap*, a Bushman; dual, *Sakara*, two Bushmen; plural, *Sakoa*, more than two Bushmen. Nominative singular, *Sas*, a Bushwoman; dual, *Sasara*, two Bushwomen; plural, *Sadi*, more than two Bushwomen. Common plural, *Sana*, Bushmen and Bushwomen. When the tribes became better known the titles given in the text were used.

road to the capital city of Monomotapa, as laid down on the best maps of the time, and to the river Espirito Santo, where he believed gold was certainly to be found, to make the acquaintance of Chobona and the Namaquas, and to induce the people of Benguela to bring the products of their country to the fort Good Hope for sale. The commissioner Van Goens saw very little difficulty in the way of accomplishing these designs, and instructed Mr. Van Riebeek to use all reasonable exertion to carry them out.

The immediate object of the next party which left the fort to penetrate the interior was, however, to procure cattle rather than to find Ophir or Monomotapa. A large fleet was expected, and the commander was anxious to have a good herd of oxen in readiness to refresh the crews. The party, which left on the 19th of October, consisted of seven servants of the Company, eight freemen, and four Hottentots. They took pack oxen to carry provisions and the usual articles of merchandise. Abraham Gabbema, fiscal and secretary of the council, was the leader. They shaped their course at first towards a mountain which was visible from the Cape, and which, on account of its having a buttress surmounted by a dome resembling a flat night-cap such as was then in common use, had already received the name Klapmuts. Passing round this mountain and over the low watershed beyond, they came to a stream running northward along the base of a seemingly impassable chain of mountains, and for this reason they gave it the name of the Berg river. In its waters they found barbels, and by some means they managed to catch as many as they needed to refresh themselves.

They were now in one of the fairest of all South African vales. To the west lay a long isolated mountain, its face covered with verdure and here and there furrowed by little streamlets which ran down to the river below. Its top was crowned with domes of bare grey granite, and as the rising sun poured a flood of light upon them, they sparkled like gigantic gems, so that the travellers named them the

Paarl and the Diamant. In the evening, when the valley lay in deepening shadow, the range on the east was lit up with tints more charming than pen or pencil can describe, for nowhere is the glow of light upon rock more varied or more beautiful. Between the mountains the surface of the ground was dotted over with trees, and in the month of October it was carpeted with grass and flowers. Wild animals shared with man the possession of this lovely domain. In the river great numbers of hippopotami were seen; on the mountain side herds of zebras were browsing; and trampling down the grass, which in places was so tall that Gabbema described it as fit to make hay of, were many rhinoceroses.

There were little kraals of Hottentots all along the Berg river, but the people were not disposed to barter away their cattle. Gabbema and his party moved about among them for more than a week, but only succeeded in obtaining ten oxen and forty-one sheep, with which they returned to the fort. And so, gradually, geographical knowledge was being gained, and Monomotapa and the veritable Ophir where Solomon got his gold were moved backward on the charts.

During the year 1657 several public works of importance were undertaken. A platform was erected upon the highest point of Robben Island, upon which a fire was kept up at night whenever ships belonging to the Company were seen off the port. At the Company's farm at Rondebosch the erection of a magazine for grain was commenced, in size one hundred and eight by forty feet, or thirty-three by twelve metres. This building, afterwards known as the Groote Schuur, was of very substantial construction. In Table Valley the lower course of the Fresh river was altered. In its ancient channel it was apt to damage the gardens in winter by overflowing its banks. A new and broader channel was therefore cut, so that it should enter the sea some distance to the south-east of the fort. The old channel was turned into a canal, and sluices were made in order that the moat might still be filled at pleasure.

In February 1658 it was resolved to send another trading party inland, as the stock of cattle was insufficient to meet the wants of the fleets shortly expected. Of late there had been an unusual demand for meat. The *Arnhem* and *Slot van Honingen*, two large Indiamen, had put into Table Bay in the utmost distress, and in a short time their crews had consumed forty head of horned cattle and fifty sheep.

This expedition was larger and better equipped than any yet sent from the fort Good Hope. The leader was Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, and under him were fifteen Europeans and two Hottentots, with six pack oxen to carry provisions and the usual articles of barter. The land surveyor Pieter Potter accompanied the party for the purpose of observing the features of the country, so that a correct map could be made. To him was also entrusted the task of keeping the journal of the expedition. The sergeant was instructed to learn all that he could concerning the tribes, to ascertain if ivory, ostrich feathers, musk, civet, gold, and precious stones, were obtainable, and, if so, to look out for a suitable place for the establishment of a trading station.

The party passed the Paarl mountain on their right, and crossing the Berg river beyond, proceeded in a north-easterly direction until they reached the great wall which bounds the coast belt of South Africa. In searching along it for a passage to the interior, they discovered a stream which came foaming down through an enormous cleft in the mountain, but they could not make their way along it, as the sides of the ravine appeared to rise in almost perpendicular precipices. It was the Little Berg river, and through the winding gorge the railway to the interior passes to-day, but when in 1658 Europeans first looked into its deep recesses it seemed to defy an entrance.

The travellers kept on their course along the great barrier, but no pathway opened to the regions beyond. Then dysentery attacked some of them, probably brought on by fatigue, and they were compelled to retrace their steps.

Near the Little Berg river they halted and formed a temporary camp, while the surveyor Potter with three Netherlanders and the two Hottentots attempted to cross the range. It may have been at the very spot known a hundred years later as the Roodezand pass, and at any rate it was not far from it that Potter and his little band toiled wearily up the heights, and were rewarded by being the first of Christian blood to look down into the secluded dell now called the Tulbagh basin. Standing on the summit of the range, their view extended away for an immense distance along the valley of the Breede river, but it was a desolate scene that met their gaze. Under the glowing sun the ground lay bare of verdure, and in all that wide expanse which to-day is dotted thickly with cornfields and groves and homesteads, there was then no sign of human life. It was only necessary to run the eye over it to be assured that the expedition was a failure in that direction. And so they returned to their companions and resumed the homeward march.

The increasing weakness of some of the party caused them frequently to halt, but now they came across some small encampments of Grigriquas, and managed to obtain a few oxen and sheep in barter. One man died, and another could hardly bear to be carried along for a day or two, when he followed his companion to the grave. The night before they reached the fort they were all sitting down partaking of the last ration of bread, when without any warning an enormous lion sprang upon one of them. Sergeant Van Harwarden fortunately had his firelock at his side, and raising the piece he presented the muzzle to the lion's forehead and instantly shot him dead. The man upon whom the beast sprang saved his life, but lost his right arm. Such were some of the perils attending exploration in those days.

Previous to the year 1658 the only slaves in the settlement were some ten or twelve individuals, brought from Batavia and Madagascar. But as labourers were now

urgently needed, the Company sent out the yachts *Hasselt* and *Maria* to endeavour to obtain some negroes on the west coast of Africa. These two vessels cruised for some time off St. Paul de Loanda, in hope of obtaining a Portuguese prize, and when that scheme failed the *Maria* came to the Cape, and the *Hasselt* sailed to the gulf of Guinea. In the meantime, on the 28th of March, the Indiaman *Amersfoort* arrived in Table Bay with one hundred and seventy negroes. On the passage from Holland, she had fallen in with a Portuguese ship bound from Angola to Brazil, with more than five hundred captives on board. The ship was old, and upon examination it was found that she could not be brought to the Cape. The officers of the Indiaman, therefore, permitted her to proceed on her voyage, after they had selected and removed to their own vessel two hundred and fifty of the most valuable slaves, including all the big boys and girls. Of these, eighty died before the *Amersfoort* reached Table Bay, and the remaining hundred and seventy were landed in a miserable condition.

A few weeks later the *Hasselt* arrived with two hundred and twenty-eight slaves, out of two hundred and seventy-one which her officers had purchased at Popo, the remainder having died on the passage. The number at the Cape was now greater than was considered necessary, and one hundred and seventy-two were sent to Batavia. Of those that were left, eighty-nine were sold on credit to the burghers at prices ranging from £4 3*s.* 4*d.* to £8 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and the Company retained the remainder in its own service.

One of the first regulations concerning them was that they were to be taught the doctrines of Christianity. On the 17th of April a school for their instruction was opened by the commander's brother-in-law, Pieter van der Stael, who in 1656 had succeeded Willem Barents Wylant as sick-comforter of the settlement. To all of them pronounceable names were given, and they were then sent to school for a short time every day. The reward of diligence which

was held out was not exactly in accordance with modern ideas, for it consisted of a glass of brandy and a little tobacco. For some days after the opening of the school the commander himself attended, for the purpose of seeing that everything was conducted in strict order. He has left on record that the prize offered was observed to stimulate the pupils to application.

As to their food, it consisted principally of seabirds and seals' flesh. Mr. Van Riebeek's testimony is that they were very fond of seals' meat, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement. It was procured in large quantities from Saldanha Bay. Four burghers, named Thomas Christoffel Muller, Jurien Appel,* Joachim Elberts, and Gerrit Harmanssen, took out free papers upon condition of becoming coast traders. They purchased a large boat from the Company, with which they plied between Saldanha Bay, Dassen Island, and Table Bay, bringing eggs, fish, oil, seals' skins, salted birds, and dried seals' flesh for disposal. They had liberty to sell freely to any one who chose to purchase, at the highest price which they could obtain, and the surplus was delivered to the Company at fixed rates,—the seals' flesh at 4*s.* 2*d.* for forty-six kilogrammes or one hundred pounds.

The captives were subject to the caprice of their owners, though regulations were issued to protect them against gross ill-usage. But whether treated well or ill, the natives of Guinea and Angola could not be reconciled to a state of slavery at the Cape, and as soon as they recovered from the effects of the sea voyage they commenced to run away. They knew that their own country was somewhere to the north, and in that direction they set their faces. Their desertion caused no little alarm among the burghers, who had purchased them upon credit, and who now saw no hope of freeing themselves of debt. They at once jumped to the conclusion that the Hottentots—a good many of whom were then in the neighbourhood—were enticing the

* Descendants now in South Africa.

slaves from service, an opinion which was shared by Mr. Van Riebeek. Some Hottentot women, he observed, had often been detected giving them trifling presents of food, the object of which must have been to induce them to desert, and doubtless the Kaapmans were disposing of them by sale to people living farther inland.

A few weeks before this the burgher Hendrik Boom had lost seven head of cattle, which had either strayed away or been stolen from the pasture in open daylight. Old Gogosoa, the fat captain of the Kaapmans, happened at the time to be within reach, and Jan Reyniers with some other friends of Boom immediately arrested him and declared they would keep him in custody until the cattle were brought back. This bold act at first alarmed the commander, who feared that it would create enmity far and wide, but no other consequence seemed to follow than that the whole Kaapman clan instantly set about searching for the lost cattle, so that they were recovered within a few hours.

Upon the desertion of the slaves, the principal burghers came to the fort and urged the commander to adopt the same course to insure their restitution. Thereupon Mr. Van Riebeek called together a council, consisting of the senior merchant Willem Bastink, of the ship *Prins Willem*, the secunde Roelof de Man, and the sergeant Jan van Harwarden, when it was resolved to seize the son and heir of Gogosoa, who was called Osingkima by the Hottentots and Schacher by the Dutch, his brother Otegno *alias* Pieter, and another named Osaoa. These persons were sitting in the courtyard of the fort, unsuspicious of any danger, when they were arrested and conducted to the surgeon's kitchen, where a guard was placed over them. It was then announced that the prisoners would be kept in confinement until the runaway slaves were brought back.

Next morning, Sunday the 23rd of June, there was much excitement among the Hottentots near the fort, and matters seemed so perplexing that the commander called the council

together again. As soon as it assembled, came the interpreter Doman with the simple face, and tendered his advice. This individual had recently returned from Batavia, where he had picked up more knowledge than the commander at first was disposed to give him credit for. However, he came back apparently as much attached to the Europeans as before, and even requested to be called Anthony, so that he might have a name like a Hollander. He now recommended the seizure and detention of Jan Cou, one of the chief men among the beachrangers, in order that they as well as the Kaapmans might be compelled to go in search of the fugitive slaves. No one suspected the beachrangers of having had anything to do with their disappearance, still it was resolved to have Jan Cou arrested, that all men might see that the council did not favour one clan more than another. No time was lost in carrying out the resolution, for Jan Cou, who was with his people in the courtyard, was immediately seized and confined with the others.

A strange scene then took place in the council chamber. Eva presented herself, and passionately protested that the beachrangers were innocent of crime, but she accused the Kaapmans of all manner of roguery. Doman retorted, and repeated an old story of Jan Cou having stolen fourteen of the Company's sheep, besides bringing to remembrance the murder of David Janssen and the robbery of the cattle five years previously. Each abused the other and the clan to which the other belonged. Then Harry entered and informed the commander that the prisoner Schacher wished one of the principal men of the Gorachouquas also to be seized, so that all three of the clans might be interested in the restoration of the runaway slaves. The council at once resolved that the leading men of the Gorachouquas should be enticed into the fort, and that the chief should then be seized and confined with the others.

This resolution could not be carried into effect, however, for as soon as the detention of Jan Cou became known the Gorachouquas fled from the neighbourhood. The Kaapmans

and beachrangers scoured the country in search of the slaves, but only succeeded in recovering two of them. Three others returned of their own accord, having been compelled by hunger to give up their hope of freedom. Then the Hottentots abandoned the pursuit, and reported that they could do nothing more.

On the 3rd of July the council met again, and as the position of affairs was critical, two officers of ships in the bay were invited to assist in the deliberations. All were by this time convinced that the Hottentots had nothing to do with the desertion of the slaves. It was believed that the Gorachouquas, who had fled inland, would cause mischief, and that the seizure of Schacher, becoming generally known throughout the country, would deter others from bringing cattle to the fort for sale. The prisoners were becoming desperate, for they feared that they would be put to death. They made an offer to purchase their liberty with cattle, and gave it as their opinion that Harry was the proper person to be kept in prison.

Then the misdeeds of the old interpreter were all gone over, and it was asserted that the stock in his possession belonged of right to the honourable Company, having been purchased with goods entrusted to his care. It was resolved to entice him into the fort with fair words, to seize him, and then to take possession of his cattle, which were grazing near the old redoubt. An hour later Harry was in prison with the others, and Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, with a party of soldiers, was on the way to Salt River.

That evening the council was hastily called together again, for it was feared that the Hottentots would attack the settlement. Sergeant Van Harwarden, upon reaching Harry's kraal, had found the beachrangers hostile, assagais had been hurled at him, and before the cattle could be secured one Hottentot was shot dead and another was wounded.

The sergeant succeeded in bringing in one hundred and ten head of horned cattle, and two hundred and sixty sheep, but it was feared that the Hottentots would retaliate

upon the farmers. There were then only ninety-seven European men, all told, resident at the Cape, and twenty of these were invalids who had been left behind by the last fleet. It was therefore resolved to land from the *Prins Willem* without delay twenty soldiers with five hundred kilogrammes of gunpowder and two hundred hand grenades, and to mount two pieces of artillery upon the redoubt Korenhoop, which had recently been built to protect the grounds of the farmers at Rondebosch. The burghers were also to be armed, and any one who did not possess a gun was to apply for such a weapon at once under penalty of being fined eight shillings and four pence.

The next morning Pieter Otegno was released and sent with a friendly message to Gogosoa, requesting him to come to the fort and make an imperishable alliance, as the commander was disposed to settle all differences between them amicably. The chief of the Kaapmans with fourteen of the leading men of the clan returned with the messenger, and stated that on their part they were most anxious for peace. This being the case on both sides, the terms of a treaty were arranged without any difficulty. The clauses were in substance as follow:—

Past offences on both sides were to be forgotten.

In future, offenders on each side were to be punished by their own countrymen.

The Kaapmans were to move to the east of the Salt and Liesbeek rivers, and to leave the pasture on the Cape side for the use of the Dutch. But if they were attacked by enemies they were to be at liberty to remove to the back of the Lion's head, where they would be under the protection of the Europeans.

The Kaapmans were to see that their cattle did not trespass upon the cultivated grounds of the Company or of the burghers.

The Kaapmans agreed to do their utmost to recover fugitive slaves, and for each slave brought back they were to receive as much copper and tobacco as for the purchase of an ox.

The Kaapmans were not to prevent other Hottentots from coming to the fort to trade.

The Kaapmans agreed to sell for copper and tobacco ten head of horned cattle and ten sheep for every large ship that arrived, five of each for every small ship, and two of each every Sunday for the garrison.

One of the Kaapmans with the interpreter Doman should go on board every ship that arrived, and there should be given to him two sacks of bread or rice, two or three pieces of pork, and a small keg of brandy.

These terms having been agreed to, Schacher and Osaoa were released from confinement, when to ratify the treaty the Kaapmans presented the commander with ten cows and nine sheep, and received from him liberal gifts in return. The beachrangers desired to make terms of peace at the same time, but the council declined their proposals. Doman and others of his clan were inveterate in their animosity against these people, and, acting upon their advice, the council finally resolved to transport Harry to Robben Island and detain him there. With him were sent two others, named Khamy *alias* Jan Cou, and Boubo *alias* Simon, who were informed that they would be kept upon the island until the murderers of David Janssen were surrendered by their clan, when they would be released. After a detention of about two months, however, these last were restored to liberty, upon the urgent solicitation of their friends. As for Harry, he remained upon the island, no one excepting Eva pleading for him. He might have had his wives and children with him if he wished, but he preferred to be without them.

In the meantime the slaves, the original cause of all this trouble, continued to desert from service. Some were recovered by the Hottentots, but many made good their escape, probably to die in the wilderness. The burghers were kept in such a state of anxiety that at length many brought back those they had purchased, and requested the commander to take them off their hands. They preferred

they said, to employ only such Europeans as the Company chose to release for that purpose, rather than be worried by slaves. Finally the council resolved to place all the males except infants and very old men in chains, as the only means of keeping them in service.

For some months after the settlement of the difficulty with the Kaapmans, matters went on smoothly between the Europeans and the Hottentots. They did not come much in contact with each other. Gogosoa and his people kept at a distance, and so evaded the fulfilment of the clause concerning the sale of cattle. The Gorachouquas avoided the neighbourhood of the fort, and only the beachrangers, who were few in number, remained. They were permitted to make a kraal at the foot of the Lion's head, and there they lived in a miserable manner. Sometimes they were induced to collect a little firewood in return for brandy and tobacco, but no other reward was tempting enough to overcome their aversion to labour.

Occasionally a party belonging to one of the clans whose grazing grounds were at a distance from the peninsula brought a few cattle for sale, but the number of oxen so obtained was insufficient to meet the needs of the Company. In October a large and powerful clan of the Cochoqua migrated to within a few hours' journey from the fort, when it was resolved to open up a trade with them. This resolution was carried into effect through the instrumentality of Eva, one of whose sisters was a wife of Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoquas. The Hottentot girl acted so faithfully in the interests of the Europeans that a large supply of cattle was obtained in barter, and the Cochoquas were brought to regard the Dutch with great favour. There was a perpetual feud between them and the Kaapmans. Eva visited the clan on several occasions, the first time alone, and afterwards accompanied by Sergeant Van Harwarden and a trading party. She gave them an account of the Christian faith, as she had learned it in the commander's household, to which they listened with attention. Mr. Van

Riebeek was greatly pleased when she informed him that though she left her Dutch clothes behind and put on the greasy skins of the Hottentots when she visited her sister, yet she never forgot what she had been taught nor omitted to say her prayers night and morning.

In December the farmers presented a remonstrance against some restrictions which had recently been placed upon them. The commissioner Van Goens had accorded them the privilege of purchasing cattle from the Hottentots, but at Mr. Van Riebeek's instigation the assembly of seventeen had withdrawn that liberty. The local council thereupon made stringent regulations against such traffic, and as the law now stood a burgher purchasing any animal, dead or alive, directly or indirectly, from a Hottentot, was liable to a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third to be prosecuted for persistent opposition to the government. All intercourse between the two races was so strictly prohibited that a burgher could be punished for permitting a Hottentot to enter his house. The privilege of going on board vessels three days after their arrival was also withdrawn, because some freemen had secreted themselves in the last return fleet, and special permission from the commander was now necessary to enable a burgher to visit a ship. Against these restrictions the burghers remonstrated, but to no purpose.

In the same document the farmers complained that the price of wheat was so low as not to pay for its cultivation, and desired that it might be fixed at 16*s.* 8*d.* the muid (10·887 dekalitres). The commander promised to support this request, which he considered reasonable, when a commissioner should arrive, but for the present he was unable to raise the price, as it had been laid down by higher authority than his at from £5 16*s.* 8*d.* to £8 6*s.* 8*d.* the load of sixteen hundred and thirty-five kilogrammes. The remonstrance was referred to the Batavian authorities, who instructed Mr. Van Riebeek to pay for wheat at the rate of 6*s.* 11*d.* for forty-six kilogrammes or one hundred pounds.

CHAPTER XXV.

MR. VAN RIEBEEK'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

IN 1658 the culture of the vine was extended beyond Table Valley. The first plants introduced had thriven so well that cuttings were plentiful, of which the commander himself now set out twelve hundred on a plot of land that he had recently received as a grant from Commissioner Cuneus. The ground given to him by Mr. Van Goens at Green Point was found not to be capable of cultivation, and besides it was needed as pasture for the Company's cattle, so that at his request Mr. Cuneus exchanged it for a freehold farm one hundred and one morgen or eighty-six hectares and a half in extent, situated on the south-eastern bank of the Liesbeek, near its source. On account of the vineyard planted by the commander, this farm was at first called Wynberg, but that name was shortly afterwards transferred to the elevated ground on the south and east, and Mr. Van Riebeek's property was then termed Boschheuvel.

The burghers were encouraged to follow the commander's example, but most of them merely set out a few cuttings round their houses. The first maize was brought in the *Hasselt* from the coast of Guinea. The farmers were directed to plant considerable quantities of it, because the slaves understood its culture, but they set about it very reluctantly. They preferred the fruit and grain of the fatherland to such foreign plants as the vine and maize, as of the manner of cultivating these they professed themselves absolutely ignorant.

When the time arrived to elect a burgher councillor, the freemen were called upon to nominate some of their number, from whom a choice would be made by the council of policy.

They put forward Hendrik Boom, Jan Reyniers, Herman Remajenne, and Jacob Cornelissen. Of these, the council selected Hendrik Boom, but resolved to retain also the services of Stephen Botma for another twelvemonth, so that in future there should be two burgher councillors, one of whom was to retire every year.

It had been ascertained that half-breed sheep throve better and increased more rapidly than those of pure Cape blood. The burghers were therefore prohibited from keeping any other than imported rams. As soon as the Company had sufficient stock, each farmer had his flock made up to fifty Cape ewes and one European ram, all other sheep being taken in part payment. The Company at this time kept about five hundred breeding ewes upon Robben Island, where a couple of men were stationed to look after them and to keep a fire burning at night when ships were off the bay.

Among the ships that called in this year was one named the *West Friesland*, which left Holland for Batavia with three hundred and fifty-one healthy men on board. A hundred and forty-eight days after sailing she put into Saldanha Bay, when her crew was unable to furl her sails. Seventy-two men had died, and more than half the living were then in such a condition from scurvy that they could not walk. In Saldanha Bay they received assistance from the free traders, and supplies of fresh provisions were forwarded from the Cape, so that the crew soon recovered.

In all countries where land is easily obtained, where population is sparse, and the products of the soil bring fair prices, labour will be in demand. It has been so in South Africa ever since the day when freemen were first located on small farms at Rondebosch. The intention of the Company was to create a body of peasant proprietors, who would till the ground with their own hands, or at most with the assistance of a couple of European servants or heathen slaves, and for this reason the largest grant of land to any individual was only twenty morgen or seventeen

hectares. But the farmers already began to aspire to a position in which their work would consist merely in directing others, and everything in the circumstances of the country favoured such a desire. There was thus a constant call upon the government, which may be summed up in the words *provide us with cheap labour.* The Company had imported slaves from the West Coast, but that scheme had not been satisfactory, as has been seen, and now only European servants were asked for. Any soldiers in the garrison who were disposed to enter the service of the farmers were therefore permitted to do so, but the number who took their discharge for that purpose was not very great. About twenty-five names are mentioned, but they need not be given, as none of these men remained long in the colony.

At this time also several mechanics took out free papers, and ground was assigned to three farmers, named Jan Louw,* Philip van Roon, and Jan Coenraad Visser.* The council requested the assembly of seventeen to send out some families of poor but industrious farming people, to which a reply was received that efforts would be made to do so, but that it was very difficult to induce such persons to migrate to a country of which nothing beyond the name was known. A few were occasionally obtained for India, and if any of them chose to remain at the Cape when the ships called, they could do so. Any resident in South Africa could have his friends sent out to him; and proper care of females, whether wives, daughters, or affianced brides, would be taken on the passage.

The supreme authorities were desirous of having the country explored, in order to ascertain what prospects there were of pushing trade in the interior, and Mr. Van Riebeek was instructed to offer premiums for any discovery of note. The reward held out was sufficient to induce a party of seven burghers to go in search of the powerful nation of Namaquas, of whose wealth and civilisation Eva told very wonderful stories. It was believed that these people could

* Numerous descendants now in South Africa.

be reached in from twenty to thirty days. The party left the Cape on the 3rd of February 1659, taking with them on pack oxen a supply of provisions sufficient to last three months. They travelled northward for twenty days, suffering much from thirst, for they did not know where to look for water, and from heat, for it was the sultriest month of the year. They reached the Berg river not far from where it empties into St. Helena Bay, and noticed the ebb and flow of the tide in its channel. Their pack oxen were by this time so worn that they gave up the intention of proceeding farther, and turned back to the fort, where they arrived on the 7th of April, without adding anything to the existing knowledge concerning the interior of the country.

From the vintage of this season a small quantity of wine was made, for the first time in South Africa. The fruit used was Muscadel and other round white grapes, and the manufacturer was the commander himself, who was the only person in the settlement with any knowledge of the manner in which the work should be performed. The event is recorded on the 2nd of February, and it is stated that the *Spanish* grapes were not then ripe, though the vines were thriving. There is no mention now to be found of the introduction of vine-stocks from Spain, but this observation appears to verify the common opinion that the hanepoot was brought from that country. This was not the only importation of plants of which the record has been lost, for the introduction of European flowers is not mentioned in any of the documents of that date still existing, though the rose and the tulip are incidentally spoken of as blooming at this time in South African gardens. Similarly, olive and mulberry trees are stated to be thriving wonderfully well, and currant bushes of three varieties are said to have died.

Much trouble was taken with the manufacture of ale, as that beverage was used more generally than wine by the people of the Netherlands, and was considered indispensable for scurvy patients in the hospital. Barley throve well, and

there was no difficulty in making malt, but the hop was planted again and again without success, though the greatest care was bestowed upon it. This industry was persevered in for many years, and samples of ale were often sent to Batavia and to Holland, but always became sour before their destination was reached. At length it was found that the heat of the climate prevented ale being made for exportation, and the efforts were then relaxed.

Every burgher was required to have a gun in his possession, and was at all times liable to be called upon to perform military service. Early in this year the freemen were formed into a company of militia, so as to keep them practised in the necessary drill. They were enrolled in a corps with one sergeant, two corporals, and one drummer, exactly the same as the garrison of the fort. For the first year the council of policy selected Stephen Botma to be sergeant and commander of the militia, and Herman Remajenne and Wouter Mostert to be corporals, but subsequently all appointments were made according to the established custom of the fatherland. A council of militia was created —consisting of the two burgher councillors, the sergeant, and one of the corporals—and to this body was entrusted the regulation of all petty matters. Every year the council of militia submitted a double list of names to the council of policy, from which list the appointments for the following twelve months were made.

Election by the masses was not favoured in the Netherlands at this period, and the nearest approach to such a system at the Cape was in the form of nomination of burgher councillors, which was observed for a short time while the freemen were few in number and lived close together. The burghers met in a body and put forward their favourites, from whom the council of policy made a selection. In 1659 they nominated in this manner Jan Reyniers, Jacob Cornelissen, Wouter Mostert, and Jan Rietvelt, of whom the council of policy selected Jan Reyniers to take the place vacated by Stephen Botma.

In the council of policy a change was effected by the death in February of Jan van Harwarden, who only a few months before had been promoted to the rank of ensign by the admiral and broad council of the return fleet. The fiscal Abraham Gabbema was allowed to have a voice and vote, and was released from his duty as secretary, to which office the clerk Gysbert van Campen was appointed. Sergeant Pieter Everaert, in right of his office as head of the military, took his seat at the board.

Early in the year 1659, when the Kaapmans moved with their herds to the peninsula, they found large tracts of ground at Wynberg and Rondebosch dotted over with the houses of the settlers. They could no longer graze their cattle on the rich herbage at the foot of the mountains, as they had been wont to do in days gone by, and their hearts swelled with bitter hostility towards the strangers. The white men, though few in number, possessed weapons so destructive that the Hottentots feared to attack them openly, but there was a possibility of driving them from the country by systematic plunder. The Kaapmans and Gorachouquas tried this plan. They came down upon the farmers' kraals at night and drove the cattle away, while by day they were nowhere to be seen. One night Doman disappeared from the fort. He left his European clothes behind, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognised as the leader of a party of plunderers. From that time he made his presence felt in the neighbourhood. He knew that in wet weather it was difficult for the Europeans to use their firelocks, and so he selected rainy days and nights for his cattle-lifting excursions.

The harassed farmers soon grew tired of acting on the defensive only, and sent a petition to the commander to be allowed to take revenge. Mr. Van Riebeek met them assembled in a body on the Company's farm at Rondebosch, and tried to argue the question with them, for his orders from the directors were emphatic, that he was not to do the Hottentots harm. He considered also that part of the

freemen's losses should be attributed to their own negligence, as some of them often sent their cattle out to graze without a herd to look after them. He warned the burghers that the Company would not give them a second start in life, much less compensate them for any losses which they might sustain in war, but they asserted their willingness to take all the risk upon themselves rather than remain longer in a state of insecurity. They asked that the soldiers should be employed against the Hottentots, or otherwise that they might be permitted to avenge themselves, for which purpose they believed they were strong enough.

The commander then summoned the council to discuss the serious aspect of affairs, and invited the burgher councillors to take part in the proceedings. On this occasion there were present: Commander Van Riebeek; the secunde, Roelof de Man; the sergeant, Pieter Everaert; the burgher councillors, Hendrik Boom and Jan Reyniers; and the fiscal, Abraham Gabbema. They placed on record that the desire of the Europeans was to live in peace and friendship with the earlier inhabitants, but it was impossible to do so as matters were going then. If messengers were sent to the Hottentots they would at once conclude that they were masters of the situation, and this could not be tolerated. The council considered that there was ample cause to attack the Kaapmans and to do them as much injury as possible; that this course would be righteous before God, and such as they could be responsible for. The true object of attacking their enemies was not booty in cattle, nor revenge, for that belonged to God alone; but to enable them afterwards to live in peace, and that the Company's designs of discovery by means of exploring expeditions should not be frustrated. They then resolved, that as there appeared to be no other means of obtaining quietness and peace with the Cape people, advantage should be taken of the first opportunity to fall upon them suddenly with a strong force, and to seize as many cattle and men as possible, avoiding all unnecessary bloodshed, but keeping the

prisoners as hostages so as to hold in check those who should escape.

In the settlement at that time there was one Simon Janssen, usually known as "Simon in't velt," a nickname given to distinguish him from numerous other Janssens—or sons of men named Jan—who had no surnames. This "Simon in't velt" was looking after some cattle when Doman and a party of Hottentots suddenly came upon him. He tried to prevent his cattle being driven away, but was overpowered and murdered with assagais. The news of this occurrence reached the fort within an hour after the council had broken up, and it was followed by a panic. The beachrangers immediately fled from Table Valley, and some of the more timid burghers began to remove their families to the fort for safety. A few commenced to place their houses in a condition for defence, the example being set by Hendrik Boom, who had the best building at the Cape. Among the burghers, who so recently had been clamouring for revenge, there was nothing but confusion. Each one wished to have his own way, and the wildest schemes were suggested, so that the commander found it impossible to do anything with them as a militia corps.

In this state of affairs the council resolved to release the slaves from their chains and to employ them in military operations against the Hottentots. A few days later those burghers who had ceased to carry on their ordinary employment were formed into a corps, with pay at the rate of ten pence a day each, in addition to rewards that were offered for the heads of marauders. Some soldiers were sent to assist those who remained upon their farms, and ambuscades were planned for the enemy. But it was in vain that attempts were made to surprise them or to draw them into an engagement, for the Hottentots were as difficult to be reached as birds in the air.

A virulent sickness at this time appeared among the horned cattle and sheep, so that of some flocks and herds not less than four out of five died. On Robben Island only

thirty-five sheep remained out of a flock of five hundred. The nature of the disease is not stated; it is only recorded that famine was not the cause, for stall-fed sheep perished like the others. The council attributed this plague to the direct action of the Almighty, and recorded their belief that it was sent as a punishment for their sins. They therefore resolved to hold a prayer-meeting every Wednesday afternoon at four o'clock, to pray that God would withdraw His wrath from them and help them against their enemies.

Those enemies were certainly doing much mischief. The Europeans were harassed and worn out in looking for them, while they were never seen except where no resistance could be offered. At last the council thought of Harry, the prisoner on Robben Island, and resolved to make use of him as a guide to the secret retreats of his countrymen. For that purpose they decided to offer him great rewards, but they placed on record that they had no intention of fulfilling their promises. A boat was accordingly sent for Harry, with a suit of clothes and a friendly message from the commander, but before its return the condition of affairs had assumed a new and entirely different phase.

Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoquas, having heard that the Europeans were at war with his enemies the Cape clans, had moved towards the fort, and was now encamped on the opposite shore of the bay with many thousand people. From his kraals there he sent messengers to the commander, offering a close and firm alliance, which the council immediately agreed to enter into with him. Eva and thirteen Europeans were sent with a present and instructions to discuss with him the method of ruining the Kaapmans and Gorachouquas, these being the common enemy. And so when the boat from Robben Island reached the jetty, before Harry could put his foot on land, orders were given to the boatmen to take him back to his place of exile.

The assistance which the Europeans desired of Oedasoa was merely a party of guides, for they felt themselves strong enough to win a victory if they could only be brought face

to face with their enemies. But the chief of the Cochoquas either could not supply such men as were wanted, or was not so fast a friend as he wished the commander to believe, for though deputations and presents were frequently sent to him, he did nothing more than make promises. In the accounts which are given of interviews of the Dutch messengers with him, his council is more than once mentioned, and it is stated that this council consisted of old and experienced men. From this it may be inferred that the government of the Hottentot clans was similar in form to that of the Bantu of the present day.

The arrival of a large Indiaman enabled the commander to strengthen the garrison with twenty-five additional soldiers, and to exchange some of his old hands for more useful ones. From another Indiaman he obtained eighty soldiers to assist in an expedition into the country. A Gorachouqua spy was captured, and through the interpretation of Harry, who was brought from Robben Island for the purpose, was compelled by threats of death to lead the way to the camping-place of the Kaapmans. The party marched only at night, so as to avoid being seen, and intended to fall upon the enemy at break of day. To encourage the members of the expedition they were promised a share of any captured cattle, a reward of fifty-five shillings for each prisoner, and twenty-seven shillings and six pence for each one of the enemy killed. A premium of one hundred and thirty-seven shillings and six pence was offered to anyone who should apprehend Doman. But the expedition was a failure, though every precaution was taken to insure success. The enemy always escaped in time, and at last Harry pointed out that the attempt to pursue them was useless, for they had posted sentinels on every hill.

Shortly after this failure, the fiscal Gabbema, with three horsemen, almost by accident encountered a party of five Hottentots, and killed three of them. The remaining two were wounded, one of them being Doman, who managed to escape, but the other was taken prisoner and conveyed to

the fort. A fortnight later Corporal Elias Giers, with eleven soldiers, came across a camp of beachrangers, which they quickly dispersed, killing three and wounding many. The beachrangers then solicited peace, and were permitted to return to their old location in Table Valley, while the Kaapmans and Gorachouquas removed from the neighbourhood, and for some months nothing was heard of them. Harry was sent back to Robben Island, and with him was sent the captured Gorachouqua spy. One night the prisoners succeeded in launching an old and leaky boat, with which they put to sea, and though the chances were all against them, they were driven ashore on the coast below Saldanha Bay and safely effected their escape.

As soon as the field was deserted by the enemy, the council began to debate schemes for protecting the settlement from future attacks. Mr. Van Riebeek brought to mind what he had seen in the Caribbee islands, and favoured the plan of a thick hedge of thorn trees beyond the cultivated grounds. It was decided finally, as a temporary measure, to deepen the fords of the Liesbeek, to build three watch-houses along the outer line, and to put up a strong fence, through which cattle could not be driven. A thick hedge or belt of thorn bushes was afterwards to be set out. The watch-houses were built, and received the names of Turn the Cow, Hold the Bull, and Look Out (Keert de Koe, Houdt den Bul, ende Kyck uijt). Between them a strong fence was made, and in them were stationed a few horsemen, whose duty it was to patrol along the line. This force was the frontier armed and mounted police of the day, for the line was the colonial border. At the commencement of hostilities Mr. Van Riebeek urged the Batavian authorities to supply him with a few more horses, as he had then only about twenty, including young foals, and with the return fleet sixteen were forwarded from Java. Some powerful dogs were also received at the same time, so that the Europeans now felt themselves more than a match for a legion of Hottentots.

Towards the close of the year a plot was discovered, just in time to save a richly-laden vessel lying in the bay. The surgeon of the fort, William Robertson by name, a native of Dundee, came to learn one Sunday at noon that a large party of men intended to run away with the yacht *Erasmus* that same night, and he at once gave information to the commander. Thereupon some of the conspirators were arrested, when they confessed that they had planned to desert and march overland to Angola, but that when the *Erasmus* arrived in Table Bay they changed their views and resolved to seize that vessel. Twenty-nine men in all were ascertained to have agreed to this project, of whom fifteen were slaves, and among the remainder were individuals with such names as Colin Lawson, John Brown, John Beck, and Alexander Crawford, all of Dundee, Jacob Born, of Glasgow, and Peter Barber, of Hampstead. The principal conspirators were sent to Batavia for trial, and those who were implicated in a lower degree were heavily punished here. A result of this plot was that the council resolved to send all the English and Scotch from the Cape to Batavia, so as to rid this place as much as possible of rubbish (omme soo veel doenlijck dese plaetse van alle oncruijt te suijveren). An exception was of course made in favour of the surgeon, who received a reward equal to £10 for having detected and made known the conspiracy.

The losses from cattle sickness and the Hottentot war were to some extent compensated by a remarkably good season for agriculture. The crops exceeded the utmost hopes, and never before had food been so plentiful. During the short time the Cochoquas remained in the neighbourhood a great many cattle were obtained in barter, so that notwithstanding the mortality the commander was able to supply the farmers with fresh stock.

One of the regulations made during this year was to the effect that every burgher was to be at liberty to buy or sell anything whatever except corn and cattle, but the prices of all articles likely to be brought into the market

were fixed by the government. The fiscal and the two burgher councillors were required to go round at least once a month and see that everything was sold at the legal rates.

In the early months of 1660 the settlement was apparently in a state of peace, but this was only because the Cape clans had removed for a time. With their return to the peninsula, it was anticipated that hostilities would be renewed, unless some arrangement with them could be entered into beforehand. For such a settlement as would allow the Europeans to pursue their avocations unmolested, Mr. Van Riebeek and the members of his council were most sincerely anxious. There was not a doubt on the mind of any one as to the cause of the war. The wounded Hottentot, who had been made prisoner and brought to the fort by the fiscal, spoke Dutch well enough to be understood, and upon being asked why his countrymen were stealing the farmers' cattle, he replied that it was because the farmers were occupying, without their leave, land which had in past time belonged to them. They could no longer even drive their cattle to the river to drink, said he, without crossing cultivated ground, which they were not permitted to do, and they had therefore determined to try to force the intruders to leave the country. Soon after making this statement the prisoner died, and from that time Mr. Van Riebeek always gave this as the true origin of the war.

Yet admitting that the Hottentots had natural cause for enmity, as the authorities at Batavia candidly did, it was not possible to grant them redress. The question was very simple:—Was the right of the nomad Hottentot clans to the soil to be admitted so far that Europeans ought not to deprive them of any portion of it, or was the European justified in planting his outposts in such positions as the Cape? Assuredly there could be but one answer, though it could be admitted at the same time that it was natural for the earlier inhabitants to resist the more recent intruders.

The Kaapmans were the first to make overtures for peace. Early in the year 1660 they sent a message to the commander from Saldanha Bay by the coast traders, proposing a treaty of friendship. They asked for a written safe conduct, to be signed by the commander, the secunde, and the fiscal, that their delegates might visit the fort. This proposal emanated from Harry and Doman, who had observed that a bond was preferable to a verbal promise. The safe conduct was sent as desired, and under its protection the two former interpreters presented themselves before the commander and settled the preliminary arrangements.

On the 6th of April the fat captain Gogosoa, accompanied by Harry, Doman, and forty of the leading men of the Kaapman clan, arrived at the fort and concluded a treaty. The terms were that neither party was to molest the other in future, that the Kaapmans were to endeavour to induce the clans living beyond them to bring cattle for sale to make up for those which they had stolen, that the Europeans were to retain possession of the land occupied by them, that roads were to be pointed out along which the Kaapmans could come to the fort, and that Europeans doing wrong to Hottentots were to be severely punished. These terms were not arranged until after long discussion and much argument, which was only ended by Mr. Van Riebeek's plain declaration that the ground would be held by the sword. The Kaapmans, after ceding the point of possession of the land under cultivation, entreated permission to be allowed to come within the boundaries to gather bitter almonds and edible roots, but this request was refused, because the bitter almonds were needed for the hedge which was to enclose the settlement. They brought forward numerous instances of ill-treatment from burghers, but were fain to be contented with an assurance that if they reported any such cases to the Dutch authorities thereafter they would receive ample redress.

Soon after the conclusion of peace with the Kaapmans, the Gorachouquas sent three delegates to the fort to ask

if terms would be entered into with them also. The answer was in the affirmative, and on the 5th of May Choro, with Harry and Doman as his interpreters, and about a hundred followers, appeared at the fort. Ankaisoa, a petty chief of Gogosoa's clan, but who was not included in the treaty of the 6th of April, was there also. They wanted to enter into a discussion about the ownership of the ground along the Liesbeek, but the commander abruptly informed them that nothing must be said on this subject again. Terms of peace similar to those with Gogosoa were then agreed upon, in ratification of which Choro presented the commander with thirteen head of cattle, and received in return a gift of copper, beads, pipes, and tobacco.

The Gorachouquas were entertained, as the Kaapmans had been, with a feast of rice and bread, and as much spirits as they chose to drink. A tub was placed in the courtyard of the fort, and was filled with a mixture of arrack and brandy. The Gorachouquas then prepared to celebrate the conclusion of peace with a grand dance after their manner. The men ranged in order, while the women seated themselves on the ground and set up a monotonous chant, clapping their hands sharply at the same time. The dancing, or rather springing up and down and quivering the body, continued for two hours, while one after another the Gorachouquas fell to the ground, overcome by exertion and the strength of the mixture in the tub. As each man fell he was picked up and carried outside of the fort, where he was laid down on the grass to sleep. When at last the dance ended, only three or four men were able to keep their feet. This was the concluding festivity, and the commander was thereafter able to say that he was at peace with all the people of Africa.

About this time the secretary Gysbert van Campen left the Cape for Batavia, and the clerk Hendrik Lacus was promoted to the vacant post. The duties of this officer were then different from what they were at a later period, as the government changed to some extent with the growth

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of the colony. He kept a record of the proceedings of the council of policy, but had neither vote nor voice in the debates; in the absence of a clergyman he performed the marriage ceremony; he drew up contracts and agreements; before him declarations concerning crime were made, though prosecutions were conducted by the fiscal; and a great amount of work in copying letters, journals, and other documents, was performed by his hands. One of his most necessary qualifications was that his penmanship should be good; and now, after the lapse of more than two centuries and a half, the beautiful black letter which the early secretaries wrote can be read by those who know its characters almost as easily as print. The paper which they used was rougher in surface, but tougher and stronger than that of our times. Age has altered its colour, but the characters upon it, traced with a quill dipped in the blackest of ink, stand out in bold clear lines as evenly arranged as if the work had been done by machinery. They used fine sand to dry their writing, and to-day, if the pages are held aslant in the rays of the sun, the finishing flourishes are seen to sparkle in the light. Yet the great-grandsons of the great-grandchildren of those who in early manhood traced those flourishes may have been in their graves long before any of the readers of these pages were born.

It was necessary in this year to appoint two new burgher councillors, as Jan Reyniers, having been ruined by the war, had returned into the Company's service, and Hendrik Boom had served the full term. The freemen nominated Jacob Cloete, Leendert Cornelissen, Wouter Mostert, and Jurien Appel, of whom the council of policy selected the second and third. The council of militia at the same time presented a list of six names, out of which Hendrik van Surwerden was appointed sergeant, and Herman Remajenne and Elbert Dirksen were chosen to be corporals for the ensuing year.

On the 9th of May 1660 the French ship *Marichal*, Captain Simon Vesron, from Nantes bound to Madagascar,

put into Table Bay. She had, all told, one hundred and forty-eight souls on board, among whom were Lieutenant Pierre Gelton, who was going out to assume the government of one of the French factories at Madagascar, a bishop, and three minor ecclesiastics of the church of Rome. On the morning of the 16th the wind set in from the north-west with rain, and gradually increased in force until on the 18th it was blowing a gale, while a heavy sea was rolling into the bay. The *Marichal* was riding with three anchors out, but her ground tackle was much weaker than that of a Dutch Indiaman of her size. Before daylight on the 19th the cables parted, and then, as there was no possibility of saving the ship, the fore-sail was dropped to cause her to swing, so that she struck the beach with her bows on near the mouth of Salt River. Some of her spars were then cut away, and a boat was got out, but was swamped and broken on the beach.

When day dawned, the people on the wreck were seen to be making rafts, but they did not succeed in getting any of them to land. In the afternoon they sent two letters on shore in a cask, in which they earnestly prayed for help, and a whale-boat was then mounted on a waggon and conveyed to the beach. A line was floated in, and a strong rope followed, along which the whale-boat plied once or twice, but only half a dozen men reached the shore that afternoon. In the night the gale abated and the sea went down, so that there was no longer any danger of loss of life. A place was then assigned to the shipwrecked crew, where they could put up tents and store the cargo. Several restrictions were imposed upon their liberty. One was that all munitions of war, except the arms of the six officers highest in rank, should be given into the custody of the commander; another, that they should not go beyond assigned limits; a third, that no meetings should be held for the celebration of worship according to the ritual of the church of Rome. A proclamation was also issued by Mr. Van Riebeek, one clause of which prohibited all re-

ligious ceremonies in the settlement, except those of the reformed church of Holland. This seemed to every one so reasonable that no demur was made to it, but Lieutenant Gelton objected in forcible language to the surrender of the arms. The commander was firm, however, and the lieutenant was compelled to submit.

Captain Vesron and forty-four of the crew were Huguenots, and the sympathy between them and the Netherlanders seems to have been stronger than between them and their own countrymen of the other faith. Thirty-five of the Frenchmen entered the Company's service at the Cape, and the remainder of the crew did the same as soon as they reached Batavia, to which place they were sent in the first ships that left South Africa after the disaster. The ecclesiastics remained here nearly a year, and then took passage for Europe, after having in vain endeavoured to engage a conveyance to Madagascar. The bishop, Estienne by name, was a man of great wealth and of good family, who had suddenly exchanged a career of profligacy for a life of fervent piety. He had devoted himself to the establishment of missions in Madagascar, and though this was the third time he had been thwarted in the attempt to reach that island, he informed Mr. Van Riebeek that he intended as soon as he arrived in Europe to charter a vessel at his own cost, if none were being sent out by the owners of the factories.

It has frequently been observed in South Africa that an individual European has acquired enormous influence with Hottentots or Bantu. This has sometimes been the result of confidence on the part of the weaker race in the good judgment, truthfulness, and friendly feeling of some particular European; sometimes it has been the result of the white man's descent to the level of the barbarian in everything but energy, daring, and skill. An instance of this occurred in the earliest days of the settlement. It was discovered in 1660 that Herman Remajenne, the man whose name heads the list of South African settlers, had long been

carrying on an illicit trade with the Hottentots. During the period of hostilities, when the government was making every effort to find the Kaapmans, he had twice visited their camp secretly. When the *Marichal* was lost, he managed by night to supply the crew with abundance of fresh beef in exchange for articles saved from the wreck. He was carrying on a large cattle trade unobserved under the very eye of Mr. Van Riebeek's government, and when he was at last taken red-handed, it appeared that he had few other accomplices or assistants than Hottentots. One night he was detected with a party of those people driving a herd of bartered cattle to his kraal, and then the whole of his past transactions became known. His punishment, taking into consideration the circumstances of his case and the ideas of that period, was very light. The bartered cattle were forfeited to the Company, and a small fine was inflicted upon him.

Large herds of cattle were at this time frequently brought for sale by the chiefs of clans living at a distance. The Hottentots were very eager to obtain beads, and parted with many hundreds of oxen and cows to gratify their fondness for these trifles. The quantity of beads given for an ox cost only from eight to ten pence, but there were other and larger expenses connected with the trade. Presents, consisting of copper plates, iron rods, axes, tobacco, pipes, and other articles, were continually being made to the chiefs to secure their friendship, while all who came to the fort were liberally entertained. The mode of conducting the barter was somewhat ceremonious.

A party approaching sent a couple of messengers in advance to inform the commander of the number of cattle on the way. At the gate close to the watch-house Keert de Koe, the party was met by a horseman and escorted to the fort. The leader was perhaps Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoqua, a tribe estimated to consist of seventeen or eighteen thousand souls. If so, he was mounted on an ox, and at his side rode his favourite

daughter Namies, who was his constant attendant. Behind came a third pack ox laden with mats and necessaries for the journey, while forty or fifty men brought up the rear and drove the cattle for sale. Or perhaps it was Sousoa, chief of the Chainouqua, a tribe even more numerous and powerful than the Cochoqua. In that case, he was accompanied by his son Goeboe, and the train behind was similar to Oedasoa's.

Arrived at the fort, the chiefs dismounted, and were conducted to the commander's own apartments, where they were seated upon mats spread on the floor. For Oedasoa, Eva, or Krotoa as she was called by her own people, always interpreted, but when any other chief was the commander's guest, Doman or Harry attended. After being seated, a complimentary conversation was carried on for a short time, and then an entertainment of bread, rice, cheese, sugar, and wine was served up in tin dishes and cans, which the guests were informed were used only by persons of rank in Holland, never by common people. Sometimes they were treated to music from the virginals, and if it happened to be Sunday the military and burgher infantry were reviewed after divine service, and salutes were fired in their honour. While the chiefs were entertained in this manner in the commander's quarters, their retainers were feasting in the courtyard of the fort on bread, rice, and brandy. As a rule, no trade was done on the day of their arrival, but on the following morning the cattle barter took place. This was followed by another entertainment, which sometimes lasted for two or three days. When the visitors left, their pack oxen carried presents which had been made to the chiefs and a good supply of biscuits and brandy for use on the road.

The behaviour of the Hottentots on these visits was always satisfactory, and pleasing traits in their character were often noticed. If a present was made to one, it was by him immediately divided among them all. The attachment of Oedasoa to his daughter Namies has been mentioned.

Once when the Cochoqua chief with a party of his followers was endeavouring to secure some young zebras for the commander, who wished to try if they could be tamed and used as horses, a great lion sprang upon him and dreadfully mangled one of his arms. His followers rushed to the rescue, and after killing the lion with their assagais, carried the bleeding chief to his hut. Namies then proved her filial affection. She would permit no one else to dress the wounds, and watched day and night by her father's side till he was able again to assist himself. Once she was ill, and then we are told nothing would tempt her father to leave her, though the commander sent most pressing invitations to him. An attachment such as this shows that the Hottentots were by no means destitute of humanity.

Yet events are recorded which are in strange contrast with these. The mother of Namies was an elder sister of Eva. When she was a girl the Chainouquas visited the Cape, and she was carried away by one of them. After a time the Cochoquas made a foray upon the Chainouquas, and among the spoil was this young woman, who then attracted the attention of Oedasoa and became his wife. In a state of society where such events were common, it might be thought that family ties would not be very strong. It seems to have been otherwise.

It frequently happened that ships were blown past the Cape without being able to put into Table Bay, and sometimes vessels were actually at the mouth of the port when a strong south-east gale sent them to sea again. It was therefore considered advisable by the directors to have a second place of refreshment somewhere in the Atlantic, and as by order of the Protector Cromwell in 1659 the English had taken possession of the island of St. Helena, search was at this time being made for another equally convenient station. It was believed that there was a beautiful and fertile island, well adapted for this purpose, somewhere between St. Helena and the African coast.

One Lodewyk Claessen, of Delft, who was serving as master ship's carpenter at Batavia, gave out that in the year 1652 he had been twice on St. Helena Nova, as the Portuguese named the island. Hereupon he was requested by the governor-general and council of India to tell them all that he knew of it, and a very pretty story he put together for their gratification. For four years, he said, he had been a prisoner in the hands of the Portuguese, and during a portion of that time had been compelled to serve in a ship of theirs which was cruising about the Atlantic. They came once to a very fertile and lovely island, abounding with fruit, vegetables, and cattle. He knew nothing of navigation, and consequently could not tell its position, but he had heard from the sailors on board that it was half a degree south of old St. Helena. He went ashore twice, and observed that the Portuguese had two small fortresses there, and were building a third and larger one. In his opinion, the island would make an admirable station for refreshment, as it had a good harbour and everything else that could be desired.

It was not only from Claessen's account that the existence of St. Helena Nova was believed in, for it was laid down in various charts long before his story was told. Various expeditions were sent from the Cape to search for this island, but all to no purpose. The fleets, when they left for Europe, sailed in a long line with the ships a short distance apart, and so the ocean was scoured for years, until St. Helena Nova was erased from the maps.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MR. VAN RIEBEEK'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

AN attempt to reach the fabulous empire of Monomotapa was also made from the Cape in this year 1660. Under the stimulus of large rewards, which were offered for any discoveries of importance, a number of volunteers offered their services to the commander. Since the return of the last exploring expedition, Mr. Van Riebeek had been diligently studying different books and atlases which treated of the geography of South Africa, and he believed, therefore, that he could now fix the exact position of Monomotapa and its chief cities. As authorities he had Linschoten's celebrated work, Father Martinus Martini's verbal description of the country, a number of maps, and several Portuguese books, though certainly neither the great histories of De Barros and De Couto nor the volume of the Dominican friar João dos Santos. The commander was of course familiar with the Portuguese language, which was then the common medium of conversation between Europeans of different nationalities in the east, and it must have been frequently used at the fort Good Hope, for it is stated that Eva could speak it tolerably well.

From the sources of information at his command, Mr. Van Riebeek laid down the city of Davagul, in which the emperor of Monomotapa was believed to keep his treasures, as thirteen hundred and twenty-five kilometres or eight hundred and twenty-eight English miles in a north-easterly direction from the Cape of Good Hope, and five hundred and fifteen kilometres westward from the coast of the Indian sea, that is, in the neighbourhood of the present town of Pretoria. It

was built on the bank of the river Espirito Santo. The city of Cortado on Rio Infante was believed to be in the same direction, but much nearer than Davagul. The inhabitants on the route are stated to be the Cochoqua, the Chainouqua, and the Hancumqua. Next to these last were the Chobona, who were believed to be the civilised people of Monomotapa.

The volunteers were thirteen in number, and were under the leadership of an intelligent petty officer named Jan Danckert. Two of them were men whose names will frequently be met with again. One of these was George Frederick Wreede, a German of good education, who had by some means got into the lower ranks of the East India Company's service. The other was Pieter van Meerhof, a Dane, who came to this country as a soldier, but as he possessed some skill in dressing wounds, was soon afterwards promoted to the rank of under-surgeon. With the party went also the interpreter Doman, who had been living at the fort since the peace, and was now doing his utmost to regain the confidence of the commander. They left the fort on the 12th of November, taking with them a supply of bread and other food on three pack oxen, and trusting to obtain a sufficiency of meat with their muskets.

The explorers travelled northward, keeping along the base of the mountain range which separates the western coast belt from the interior. Here and there they encountered small parties of Bushmen, some of whom dropped their arms and fled in consternation at sight of the strangers, while others held friendly communication with them. They passed through a region which they described as the veritable kingdom of the moles, where travelling was most difficult, as at every step the ground gave way beneath them. At length they came to a river flowing towards the Atlantic, and on its banks were two or three hundred elephants feeding, from which circumstance they gave it the name which it still bears.

At the Elephant river some of the party rested, while the leader and a few others pushed on a little farther to

the north. At the most distant point reached they saw smoke rising a long way ahead, and were informed by some Bushmen that it was from the fires of a Namaqua encampment. Most of the party were by this time so fatigued that they were indisposed to go farther, and the leader was therefore compelled to turn homeward. They made no discoveries of importance on the return march to the fort, which they reached safely on the 20th of January 1661.

The intelligence which they brought of having seen the fires of the Namaquas called forth such a spirit of adventure that in ten days another exploring party was ready to set out. It consisted of thirteen Europeans and two Hottentots, under the leadership of Corporal Pieter Cruythof, with the under-surgeon Pieter van Meerhof as journalist and second in command. This party followed the same route as the last, along by a mountain to which they gave the name Riebeek's Kasteel, and then selecting the least rugged pathway to the north. Not far beyond the Elephant river they fell in with eighteen or twenty Namaqua hunters, who, after some hesitation and repeated invitations given through the interpreters, approached in a friendly manner. Presents of trinkets were made to them, and in a few minutes confidence on both sides was fully established. Some of the Namaquas remained with the Europeans that night, and on the following morning conducted them to a kraal at no great distance.

This encampment, which was under the chief Akembie, consisted of seventy-three huts ranged in a circle, with a few others in a group outside. Meerhof estimated the owners of the huts at three hundred men and four hundred women and children, the proportion of these last being small because the kraal was only a temporary outpost. They had about four thousand head of horned cattle and three thousand sheep, with which they were moving from place to place wherever pasture was to be found. The travellers were welcomed with many demonstrations of joy. A calf and a sheep were presented to

them for food, and the leaders were invited into the chief's hut, where a kaross was spread upon the ground for them to sit upon while they were regaled with milk.

In the evening a grand dance took place in their honour. A ring was formed of between one and two hundred men, each of whom held in his hand a hollow reed differing in length or thickness from that of his neighbour. In the centre stood a man with a long stick, singing and giving directions. Those in the ring blew into their reeds and went through various evolutions, while outside of the circle the women were dancing vigorously. This entertainment lasted about two hours.

Meerhof describes the Namaquas as larger in person than other Hottentots, and as being better dressed. They wore karosses of leather, or of leopard, wild cat, or cony skins. Their hair was the same as that of the Cape clans, but by attaching copper ornaments to some of the tufts, they managed to stretch them out so as to fall round their heads. On their arms they wore ivory and copper rings. They were acquainted with the art of smelting copper and iron, of which metals they manufactured ornaments and weapons. Their habitations, like those of their race elsewhere, were merely hemispherical frameworks of wood covered with mats, and could be moved from place to place almost as readily as canvas tents. The most important article of their food was milk, which they kept in large calabashes and in vessels hollowed out of wood.

The Namaqua warriors carried shields of double oxhide, so large that they could conceal their persons behind them. As arms of offence they used the assagai, clubbed stick, and bow and arrow. At the time of Cruythof's visit there was a feud between them and the Cochoquas. Some Bushmen had recently robbed them of a lot of cattle, and they were seeking an opportunity for vengeance upon that plundering race. Presents of beads, copper plates, tobacco, and other articles, were made to these people, but that which seemed to please them most was a red nightcap. The strangers were well treated as long as they remained,

and when they left presents were made to them, of which they took to the fort a young ox and also a goat, the first animal of the kind seen at the Cape. They reached the fort on the 11th of March, having been absent only forty days.

It has more than once been mentioned that the Hottentot clans were generally at war with each other when Europeans became acquainted with them. Some of their feuds appear to have been hereditary, but others were only petty quarrels. The ill-feeling between the Namaquas and the Cochoquas at this time was not very deep-seated. It had its origin in a deed of spoliation, such as is common among all uncivilised people. Oedasoa, the Cochoqua chief, had fallen upon the clan known as the Great Grigriquas, and had taken their cattle, upon which they fled to the Namaquas. These espoused their cause, but were so lukewarm in the matter that Akembie informed Corporal Cruythof he would make peace at once if Oedasoa would send messengers for that purpose.

The commander was anxious that the clans farther up the coast should be on good terms with each other, so that all might come unmolested to the fort with cattle for sale. He therefore no sooner heard Cruythof's report, and read the journal of the expedition, than he paid a visit to Oedasoa, whom he addressed and spoke of as the ally of the honourable East India Company. The Cochoqua chief was requested to observe that the Netherlanders were the friends of all people, their desire being that all should live in peace and trade in friendship. For this reason he, Commander Van Riebeek, requested his good friend and ally to appoint delegates to enter into a treaty with the Namaquas, when a party of Europeans would be sent with them and the tranquillity of the country be secured. Oedasoa replied that he knew the commander wished all people to live in peace, but he was not so good himself. His followers were more numerous and more powerful than the Namaquas and the Great Grigriquas combined, and he was

disposed to make them feel his strength. He was persuaded, however, to change his views, and after a short delay three delegates of the Cochoquas were appointed to arrange for peace.

Volunteers offered again, and on the 21st of March a party consisting of nine Europeans, the three Cochoqua delegates, and two interpreters, under the leadership of Pieter van Meerhof, left the fort for the country of the Namaquas. They took with them large presents for Akembie, his three grown-up sons, and the leading men of his clan. The country as far as the Elephant river was now well known, and when Meerhof reached that stream for the third time he was not sorry to find no Namaquas near its banks, as their absence gave him an opportunity to lead his party into regions where no explorers had previously been.

Six days longer he pushed on northward, through a country more barren and desolate than he had ever before seen or had any conception of. On the sixth day of this wearisome march the party came upon an encampment of the Great Grigriquas, and found in it some of Akembie's people, who had been left there purposely to receive any Europeans that might arrive during the chief's absence. The main body of the Namaquas had migrated to the north. The object of the expedition was attained, however, for peace was concluded between the belligerent clans by their representatives, and Meerhof's party returned to the fort Good Hope, where they arrived on the 23rd of April, bringing with them every prospect of a large increase to the Company's cattle trade.

While efforts were thus being made to open up South Africa to commerce, the improvement of the earlier inhabitants was not altogether unthought of. There were indeed no missionaries, in the present meaning of that word, sent from the Netherlands, but there was at least one man at the Cape who was doing the work of an evangelist. His name was Pieter van der Stael, and the office which he filled

was that of sick-comforter. He was brother-in-law of the commander Van Riebeek. In 1661 his term of service expired, and a new engagement was entered into for three years, of which the original record is still in existence. In this document it is stated that the sick-comforter had been very zealous in trying to teach the Hottentots and slaves the Dutch language and the principles of Christianity. His conduct in this respect having been brought to the notice of the directors in the fatherland, they entirely approved of it, and to signify their satisfaction they issued instructions that his pay was to be increased to £3 15s. a month, which was then considered a very large salary for his office. In the agreement, the work in which he had been engaged was recognised as part of his future duty, though he was still to attend to the sick in the hospital, and conduct the Sunday services. The whole number of Hottentots within the settlement at this time did not exceed fifty souls, so that the Dominie, as he was usually called, had not many of that people to labour among. Their manner of living, also, was such that any efforts to improve their mental faculties must have been almost hopeless.

Already there was a suspicion in the minds of some observers that the only method of civilising the Hottentots was the plan followed in the case of Eva. She had grown up in the commander's household, where she had acquired European habits and tastes, and where she had learned to read and to act outwardly as a Christian, though as yet she was unbaptized. It appeared as if two systems were upon their trial, each of which finds advocates to this day. Pieter van der Stael exhorting the beachrangers among their wretched hovels under the Lion's head, trying to make them comprehend the Christian faith, teaching naked and half-famished barbarians the A B C, would be regarded as a model missionary by many great evangelising societies of the twentieth century. And the individuals are not few who would have greater hopes from the plan adopted with Eva, who was

to as great an extent as possible weaned in childhood from the customs of her race, and who underwent a training in habits of industry and conformity with civilised modes of living, before any purely religious teaching was attempted.

Mr. Van Riebeek was desirous of entering into a treaty of alliance with the Namaquas, as he anticipated great advantages to the Company from trade with that tribe. The old belief concerning their high civilisation had been broken by personal intercourse, and it was now known that they were merely ordinary Hottentots, far even from being so numerous or so powerful as the Cochoquas. But it was also known that they were very rich in cattle, and it was hoped that by their means those golden regions laid down in the charts might at length be reached. As yet, the commander's faith in the accuracy of the maps of the time was unshaken. He still spoke of Vigiti Magna and of the great river which ran past it as if they were well-known geographical facts. Beyond this river was the land of wealth, and to get to that land it was necessary to have the Namaquas as friends.

A party was therefore made ready to visit Akembie for the purpose of inviting him and his three sons to the fort. Most friendly messages were to be conveyed to them, and such presents as were known to be acceptable were to be taken. In the outfits for journeys such as this we can see the style of living of the Company's servants at that time. The food was ample, though coarse; tea and coffee were unused; arrack or brandy formed part of the ration; but that which would strike as strangest any one unacquainted with colonial tastes was the large quantity of spice—cloves, nutmegs, and especially cinnamon—which was consumed.

The expedition to the Namaquas consisted of thirteen volunteers, of whom Sergeant Pieter Everaert was leader, Pieter van Meerhof second in command, and Cornelis de Cretzer journalist. They left the fort on the 14th of

November 1661, and did not return before the 13th of February 1662. North of the Elephant river they suffered greatly from scarcity of water, and even when they found a little, it was so bitter that they could hardly drink it. The country was a dreary desolate wilderness, burnt up by the rays of a fiery sun, a vast expanse of sand in which they wandered for days together without encountering a sign of human life. At length they learned from some Bushmen that the Namaquas were far away to the north, and though they tried to follow, they did not succeed in reaching any members of the tribe. By this expedition no discovery of any importance was made, nor did anything transpire on the journey more worthy of record than the trampling to death of one of the volunteers by an elephant.*

In the settlement at this time only a few trifling events occurred. The burgher councillor, Leendert Cornelissen, had suffered heavy losses by the desertion of his slaves, the disturbance with the Hottentots, and mishaps in his business as a dealer in timber. These troubles had driven him to habits of carelessness and intemperance unbecoming his position. It was then the custom for the court of justice, of which he was a member, to meet every alternate Saturday afternoon at two o'clock. On one occasion when a case came on for hearing he was found in a tavern unfit to make his appearance. Hereupon the council of policy deprived him of office, and from a double nomination by the freemen appointed Hendrik Boom in his stead.

The two burghers who had an exclusive privilege to shoot and sell game had also become dissipated in their habits, so that a supply of venison was only procurable at irregular and uncertain intervals. The commander hereupon gave permission to all the freemen to kill wild animals for the consumption of their own families, but not for

* The original chart of this expedition is in the archives of Holland, and a copy of it on tracing linen, made by me, is in possession of the colonial government. The bearings are very inaccurately laid down. The point aimed at is shown to be the town of Vigiti Magna.

sale, on the ground that the public welfare demanded such a modification of the privileges of the licensed hunters.

The farmers, instead of attending to their work when ships were in the bay, frequently visited the port, on such occasions generally bringing in a waggon load of firewood for disposal. To prevent this waste of time, the council enacted that no firewood should be brought for sale except on Saturday afternoons or on Sunday mornings before nine o'clock, and an official was sent to Rondebosch to compel the farmers to plough their lands. But such enactments were by no means confined to the Cape Colony. In England, for instance, at this date labourers were not permitted to receive more than an arbitrary rate of wages fixed by the county authorities. A dozen regulations of as despotic a nature as any enforced in South Africa could probably be selected from the records of the freest country in Europe.

Early in 1662 the ancient feud between the Cape clans and the Cochoquas under the chief Oedasoa, which had been dormant for a short time, was revived, when the Cape clans drove their cattle as close as they could to the European settlement, and sent messengers to the commander to implore his protection. Hereupon Mr. Van Riebeek with a small guard rode out to see for himself how matters stood, and just beyond Wynberg found four kraals containing in all one hundred and four huts, occupied by fully two thousand Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas. The commander dismounted and sat down under a screen which the Hottentots hastily made by planting poles in the ground and spreading a mat upon them.

The chiefs then informed him that from Oedasoa they did not expect mercy, that unless they could fall back upon the mountains they were unable to defend themselves, and as the Europeans now held those mountains they thought they were entitled to protection. Mr. Van Riebeek replied that if they would undertake to deliver ten head of horned cattle and ten sheep for every vessel that entered the bay he

would take them under the guardianship of the honourable Company. The chiefs requested the commander to allow them to consult with their people about this important matter, and asked him to remain till the consultation was over. This being agreed to, an old man was sent round to call the sages together. They met, and under the presidency of Choro discussed the question for fully four hours, when a small committee of the leading men went apart and finally arranged an answer for the commander. This was, that it would be impossible for them to dispose of so many cattle without destroying their breeding stock, but they were willing to sell all that could be spared, without, however, binding themselves to any number. Mr. Van Riebeek tried to persuade them that by his plan they could easily enrich themselves through barter with their countrymen elsewhere, but his reasonings were of no avail. Finding that his terms would not be agreed to, he at last left the Hottentot encampment, after informing the chiefs that as the grass was then becoming scarce in that neighbourhood they must at once move away.

Yet at that moment Mr. Van Riebeek had no intention of leaving the Goringhaiquas and the Gorachouquas to the mercy of the Cochoquas. He says that although Oedasoa was the friend and ally of the honourable Company, he was so powerful that it would not be judicious to allow him to destroy the others and to become the immediate neighbour of the settlement. In that case he would probably soon become troublesome, and would certainly prevent intercourse between the fort and the tribes at a distance. The commander chose therefore to watch the course of events and to maintain the balance of power. On the morning after the conference Gogosoa and Choro with Harry and a troop of followers, in hope of appeasing him, brought fourteen oxen and eleven sheep for sale, when they were liberally entertained and given to understand that the Europeans were friendly to them, though no promise of protection by means of arms would be made.

The vision of obtaining control over rich gold mines and stores of ivory if possession were taken of the eastern coast of Africa, which had dazzled the Company in the early years of its existence, was still floating before the eyes of the directors in Holland. At this time they were preparing a fleet to attack Mozambique, and orders were sent out to the Cape to detain two hundred and fifty soldiers from homeward bound ships and to hold this force in readiness to embark upon the arrival of the expedition. In April the soldiers were landed, and were placed under command of Lieutenant François Tulleken, who, during the short period of his residence in the settlement, took military precedence of Sergeant Everaert.

The accounts of the condition of the settlement given verbally to the directors by the skippers of their vessels did not always accord with the despatches prepared by Mr. Van Riebeek. There was a tendency on the part of the commander to overrate the advantages of the Cape station, and a tendency on the part of the skippers to underrate them. It was, said the commander, a place abounding with fresh meat and vegetables, and having a certainty immediately before it of an equally plentiful supply of fruit. It was, said the skippers, the dreariest place in the world, where the meat was so tough and lean that they could hardly eat it, and where often the ships were straining and chafing their cables half the time of their stay, riding in a heavy sea with a furious gale blowing. It was, said the commander, a place with many conveniences and comforts for the officers and sailors whenever they wanted to take a run ashore. It was, said the skippers, a place where the town burghers obtained a living by keeping lodging houses and brandy shops, and selling poultry and eggs, without having the fear of God before their eyes when making charges, but as for such comforts as could be procured in the smallest village of Europe or India, they were entirely wanting. On board every return fleet some of the garrison or freemen managed to secrete themselves, and these run-

aways, upon arriving in the fatherland, naturally supported the statements of the skippers as the best excuse they could make for their conduct.

The directors called the commander's attention to the complaints of the skippers, which, they observed, they were inclined to believe must rest upon a good foundation, as in one instance beyond dispute he had misled them. He had often held out prospects of the Cape being able to furnish its own food, and still the Company was compelled to import rice. Most certainly this charge was unjust, for the imported rice was a very small item to be placed as a set-off against the supplies of provisions to the fleets. But the belief had come to be general in the fatherland that the resources of the Cape were by no means so great as Mr. Van Riebeek was constantly representing. Strict orders were therefore sent out that no more men were to be released from service to become town burghers. We do not see, said the directors, of what advantage they are in a country that does not raise its own food. Farmers are needed first of all.

Mr. Van Riebeek had long been anxious for removal from South Africa. He had a high opinion of his own abilities, and believed that he deserved promotion. Further advancement here being impossible, he had more than once requested an appointment in India, though he always added that he was content to abide by the decision of his superiors. In 1660 the directors resolved upon his removal, and appointed Mr. Gerrit van Harn as his successor, without intimating their intentions regarding himself further than that he was to proceed to Batavia and there receive instructions.

Mr. Van Harn sailed from Texel in the *Wapen van Holland*, a first-class Indiaman of which David Coninck, formerly of the *Dromedaris*, was then skipper. Soon after leaving home sickness broke out among the crew, and before they had been many weeks at sea the ship was like a hospital. Twenty-five corpses had already been com-

mitted to the deep, when, on the 17th of March 1661, Mr. Van Harn died.

As soon as intelligence of the decease of the commander designate reached Batavia, the council of India appointed in his stead Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar, who was then serving as a merchant in the Company's service, and with the first return ship Mr. Van Riebeek was apprised that he might shortly expect his successor. He received the announcement with satisfaction, for his arrangements to leave South Africa had been some time made. His two sons had been sent to the Latin school at Rotterdam to receive their education. His farm had been handed over to the council as representing the honourable Company, and it had been arranged that the next commissioner who should call at the Cape should appraise the amount to be allowed him for improvements. On this farm a good deal of labour must have been bestowed, for there were then growing upon it one thousand one hundred and sixty-two young orange, lemon, and citron trees, ten banana plants, two olive, three walnut, five apple, two pear, nineteen plum, and forty-one other fruit trees, besides some thousands of vines.*

* A list of the successive owners of this estate and the sums paid for it will show the value of landed property in the Cape peninsula at different periods. Unlike nearly every other plot of ground originally given out in this part of the colony, Mr. Van Riebeek's farm has never been subdivided, but remains intact to the present day, with the same boundaries as were assigned to it in 1658. The council was of opinion that it would make a good garden for the use of the Company, and agreed to keep it for that purpose; but the directors decided against this arrangement, and issued instructions that it should be sold by public auction for Mr. Van Riebeek's benefit. It was purchased by Jacob Rosendaal for £110, to be paid in yearly instalments extending over a long period. The next person who is found in possession of it is Tobias Marquart, but what he gave for it cannot be ascertained, as there was no registry of deeds before 1686, and no mention is made of the transaction elsewhere. In 1686 titles were issued to the individuals who were then in possession of estates, and an accurate record of transfers began to be kept. In Marquart's title it is stated that the ground was the same hundred and one morgen that had been first granted to Mr. Van Riebeek, and it is termed Boschheuvel, but

On the 2nd of April 1662 Mr. Wagenaar arrived at the Cape, having come from Batavia in the capacity of commodore of the two ships *Angelier* and *Ojevaer*, which formed part of the return fleet of 1662 under command of Arnold de Vlaming, ordinary councillor of India. Three other ships of the same fleet, with Joan van der Laen as commodore, were already lying at the rendezvous in Table Bay. There were four others still behind, one of which was afterwards known to have gone down at sea in a gale, and the remaining three were never again heard of.

Mr. Wagenaar was warmly welcomed upon landing, but the reins of government were not handed over to him before the 6th of May. On the afternoon of that day the freemen were all assembled at the fort, where the garrison

no particulars are given as to when or how it came into his possession. In August 1690 Cornelis Linnes purchased it from the executors of Marquart's estate for £437, and in June 1691 he sold it to Willem Heems for £500. The next purchaser was also named Willem Heems, who in July 1726 bought it for £920 from the estate of the heirs of the former proprietor. In February 1758 Jacob van Reenen bought it from the heirs of Heems for £267, and in September of the same year sold it to Jacob Neethling for £400. In February 1773 Jan Roep bought it from Neethling for the same sum that the latter had paid for it, and in May 1783 he sold it to Pieter Henkes for £2,267. In June 1804 Henkes sold it to Justus Keer for £2,867, and in August 1805 Keer sold it to Honoratus Christiaan David Maynier for the same amount, £2,867. Maynier changed the name of the farm from Boschheuvel to Protea. On the 10th of June 1818 he received from Lord Charles Somerset a grant of seventy-seven morgen and one hundred square roods of waste land adjoining the old estate, at a yearly quitrent of £1 11s. 6d., and in subsequent transfers this ground was included. After his death his widow became insolvent, and under an order of the supreme court the property was sold at public auction on the 3rd of May 1836. It was purchased by Andries Brink, who received transfer on the 14th of March 1837. Brink sold it to Honoratus Christiaan David Maynier, a grandson of the former proprietor, and transfer was passed on the 23rd of August 1842. This Maynier sold it in June 1851 to the trustees of the colonial bishopric fund—one of them being the right honourable William Ewart Gladstone—for £3,100. Since that time the bishop of the English church has resided on the estate.

was drawn up under arms before a temporary platform. The ceremony of inducting the new commander was very simple. Hendrik Lacus, the secretary, read the commission of the governor-general and council of India, the troops presented arms, the secunde Roelof de Man, the lieutenant François Tulleken, the fiscal Abraham Gabbema, and the minor officers of the government engaged to support the authority of the new commander, the freemen repeated a formula promising obedience to his lawful orders, and the whole ceremony was over.

On the 7th Mr. Van Riebeek with his family embarked in the *Mars*, and early on the following morning he sailed for Batavia. He had governed the settlement ten years and one month. A lengthy document which by order of the directors he drew up for the use of his successor contains a statement of the condition of the infant colony, remarks upon planting at various seasons of the year, an account of all the Hottentot clans that were then known, and a great deal of hearsay information, much of which was afterwards discovered to be inaccurate.

The settlement was then in a fairly prosperous condition. The Javanese horses had increased to over forty, old and young, so that a body of eighteen mounted men could be kept patrolling the border. The hedge was growing well, and promised in the course of three or four years to be so high and thick that nothing could be driven through it, consequently from the Hottentots there was little or no cause to fear trouble. Of horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, there was a good stock on hand. Every farmer had at least twelve working oxen and six cows, every one whose wife had arrived from Europe had at least twelve cows, and as they were permitted to exchange any inferior animals for the best that the Company purchased from the Hottentots, their stock was the choicest in the country. Each had his little freehold farm marked out, and beyond the agricultural lands the whole open country was regarded as common pasture.

The directors had reproved Mr. Van Riebeek for the severity of his regulations, and by their order many restrictions upon trade had been removed. The farmers could not legally purchase cattle from the Hottentots, they could not legally sell a sack of wheat, an ox, or a sheep, except to the Company, but they could dispose of anything else freely, even to the master of a foreign vessel, at the best price which they could obtain. The town burghers were dependent upon strangers for their living. During the decade 1652-1661 twenty-five of the Company's ships on an average put into Table Bay yearly. One with another, there were on board each of these ships about two hundred men, so that every twelvemonth there were five thousand visitors, remaining usually ten or twelve days. In addition to these, during the period of Mr. Van Riebeek's government seventeen English and six French ships dropped anchor in Table Bay, and their crews were customers for many articles which the freemen had for sale. It is true that foreign ships were not encouraged by the government to make this a port of call, but it is no less true that in none of the colonial possessions of England or France were Dutch seamen better treated at that time than English and French seamen were treated here.

That was an age in which foreigners had nowhere the same commercial privileges as the owners of a country. At the Cape the government would sell them nothing, but they had the use of all the lodging-houses and taverns, they could purchase vegetables, pigs, and poultry from the burghers, and in some instances at least the authorities closed their eyes to sales of cattle. The instructions of the directors were to give the burghers a helping hand, and it was frequently considered unnecessary to enforce the regulations against the sale of cattle, if the Company was fully supplied and a foreigner offered a high price to a burgher.

This mode of procuring a livelihood was somewhat precarious, and was adapted to form a class of petty traders not over scrupulous in their transactions, rather

than such a body of colonists as the Company was desirous of establishing at the Cape. Mr. Van Riebeek reported that many of them were doing so well that they were never seen with their shirt sleeves rolled up, but only a few years later another commander stated that some were in extreme poverty. Both were right.

When Mr. Van Riebeek left South Africa he anticipated great profit from the cultivation of a particular plant. That plant was the olive. Nowhere in the world could there be a finer specimen of a young olive tree than on the farm which had once been his. In the preceding year it had been overloaded with fruit, which had ripened well, and now he had hundreds of young trees ready for transplanting in July and August. Yet to the present day it is an open question whether the olive can be cultivated with profit in South Africa.

Among matters to which Mr. Van Riebeek directed his successor's attention were the taming of young ostriches and the stocking of the islands in Saldanha Bay with rabbits. On several occasions tame ostriches had been sent to the Indies, where they had proved acceptable presents to native potentates, and it was for this purpose alone that they were needed. Their feathers were saleable, but it does not seem to have occurred to anyone in those days that it would pay to tame the bird for the sake of its plumage. The object of stocking the islands in Saldanha Bay with rabbits was to increase the food supply there for the crew of any ship that might arrive in distress. These animals were already swarming on Robben Island, but it was noticed that a species of snake, harmless to men, had of late so greatly multiplied that the rabbits would likely not increase further.

The Hottentot clans that were known in 1662 were the Goringhaikonas, the Goringhaiquas, and the Gorachouquas, inhabiting the country in the immediate vicinity of the fort; the Cochoquas, in two divisions under the chiefs Oedasoa and Gonnema, and the Little Grigriquas, occupying the

country along the coast from the neighbourhood of the Cape to the Elephant river; the Namaquas and the Great Grigriquas, north of the Elephant river; and the Chainouquas, to the east of the Cochoquas. Altogether, these well-known clans were supposed to number from forty-five to fifty thousand souls.* Scattered over the whole country, wherever it had been explored, were a few diminutive Bushmen living by plunder and the chase, but of their number the commander did not venture to give an estimate.

The Hessequas, whose pastures were next to the eastward of the Chainouquas, had sent a messenger to the fort to ascertain all that he could of the strangers who had come from over the sea and made themselves homes at the end of the land. But of the Hessequas only the name was known. Mr. Van Riebeek had heard of the Hancumquas† whose chief, called Choebaha, was believed by him to be the head of all the Hottentot race, of the Chamaquas (*i.e.* |Amaquas), the Omaquas, the Attaquas, the Houteniquas, and the Chauquas, (*i.e.*, Gei||Khauas), but he

*I have arrived at this estimate, not from any single statement of Mr. Van Riebeek, but from observations scattered throughout his writings. Where he has given only the number of fighting men in a clan, I have multiplied that number by five to represent the total of men, women, and children. In two instances he has given no information further than saying the clans were about as strong as some others which he had previously named. The spelling of these tribal names is that generally, though by no means uniformly, employed in the early records. The letters *g* and *ch* were in those days used for each other apparently at the pleasure of every writer, *e.g.*, Gorachouquas, Chorachouquas, dag, dach, etc. Tribal names given in the text, and also the names of individuals, must be taken to represent the closest approximation to the sounds as spoken by Hottentots, which could be written in the letters of the Dutch alphabet. That these words contained clicks, which could not be represented by Mr. Van Riebeek and the early secretaries, is certain. It would doubtless be of advantage to an ethnologist if they were written in all instances in their correct Hottentot form, but as in that case they would be utterly unpronounceable by an English tongue, in a book such as this it seems preferable to retain the Dutch spelling.

† Now supposed to have been the principal clan of the Gei||Khauas.

had never seen anyone belonging to any of these clans. The boundary of the Chauquas he believed to be the great river on which Vigiti Magna was built, and beyond that stream he thought an entirely different people from the Hottentots would be found. These he called the Chobonas. They wore clothing, dwelt in substantial houses, were in possession of gold and jewels,—in short, were the civilised people of Monomotapa. Besides all these, Mr. Van Riebeek had been told of amazons, of cannibals with hair so long that it reached the ground, and of a race that tamed lions and used them in war; but of their exact place of abode he professed himself ignorant.

It was not a time for ethnographical study, nor was the commander interested in any kind of research that had not pecuniary gain for its object. Not a suspicion ever crossed his mind that the Bushmen were the true aborigines of the country, and that the Hottentots were nothing more than the descendants of recent invaders. Perhaps traditions of the migrations of their ancestors were even then unknown to the majority of those with whom Mr. Van Riebeek came in contact, for such movements are seldom kept in memory by the majority of barbarians longer than a century or a century and a half, but there must have been antiquaries among the Hottentots who could then have given important information, had they been interrogated patiently as to the history of their people in bygone times. The opportunity, however, was not made use of, and it passed away long before such knowledge came to be regarded as having any value.

Within the last three years several farmers had taken out free papers, but though each man's ground was surveyed, a neat chart of it framed, and a title deed issued as soon as the terms of occupation were completed, the most methodical of all governments—the government which has left detailed information concerning every ship that entered the bay—neglected by some unaccountable oversight to keep an accurate record of its land grants. This is not, however, a matter of any great importance, as out of all those

who became burghers at this time, only three men remained and left descendants behind them in South Africa. Those three were Willem van der Merwe, Hans Ras, and Pieter van der Westhuizen, ancestors of colonial families now widely spread.

The character of the first commander of the colony is delineated in the thousands of pages of manuscript which he left behind. A more dutiful servant no government ever had, for he endeavoured to the utmost to carry out in spirit and in letter the instructions which were given him. He was sanguine in temperament, energetic in action. So active was he that he accomplished, in addition to all his other duties, more mere writing than any ordinary clerk would care to undertake.

On the other hand, his judgment was weak, and his ideas of justice were often obscured by the one object ever present in his mind,—the gain of the honourable Company. He was inclined to be tyrannical, and, as is not unusual with men who rise above the rank in which they are born, he treated with contempt the class from which he sprang whenever he could do so with impunity. He was religious after the fashion of his day, but his religion did not prevent him from acting falsely and treacherously whenever there was any immediate gain to the Company to be made by a falsehood or a treacherous act.

Perhaps this was rather a vice of the age than of the man. He, at any rate, did not regard it as a vice at all, for he recorded with the utmost simplicity how on one occasion he sent a false message, on another made a promise with no intention of fulfilling it, on a third entrapped a Hottentot by means of fair words. Nor did any of the directors, or commissioners, or Indian authorities, ever pen a line of censure on account of such doings. In addition to these remarks upon the most prominent features of his character, it may be added that the first commander was a man of no great delicacy of feeling, and that in refinement of mind he compared unfavourably with most of his successors.

After his arrival in Batavia, Mr. Van Riebeek was appointed head of the Company's establishment at Malacca, which post he filled until 1665. Subsequently he became secretary of the council of India, and remained in that situation for many years, but never had a voice in the debates or proceedings. A statue, to which his name is attached, now stands towards the lower end of Adderley street in Capetown, very near the spot on whieh he first set foot when he landed in April 1652. It was placed there at the expense of the late right honourable Cecil J. Rhodes, but of course it is only an imaginary representation of the first head of the Dutch settlement in South Africa.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ZACHARIAS WAGENAAR, COMMANDER, INSTALLED 6TH MAY 1662, RETIRED 27TH SEPTEMBER 1666.

COMMANDER WAGENAAR was a man whose habits and disposition formed a striking contrast with those of his predecessor. Mr. Van Riebeek was a little man of restless energy and fiery temper, who got into a passion whenever he fancied a slight was offered to his dignity. His contemporaries called him "the little thornback" (de luttel rogh), and the nickname was decidedly appropriate. Mr. Wagenaar, on the contrary, was an elderly man of grave demeanour, who never allowed a passion to disturb him. He possessed no ability, either mental or physical, natural or acquired, in any high degree. He was dull, impassive, averse to exertion. If he had ever been ambitious of fame or rank, the feeling had died before he came to South Africa.

He was not, however, without considerable experience in the management of business, and he had once filled a post as important as that of head of the Company's factories in Japan. Long residence in different parts of India had shattered his health, and at times he was laid up for weeks together, unable to do anything beyond attaching his signature to official documents. There was no fear of such a man pushing the settlement forward too rapidly, as some of the commissioners thought Mr. Van Riebeek had been doing. Rather, he was one under whom it was unlikely that any expense not specially authorised by superior authority would be incurred. The only relatives who accompanied him to the Cape were his wife and a widowed daughter-in-law.

Shortly after his assumption of office, deputations from the various Hottentot clans with which his predecessor had been acquainted waited upon him to ascertain if the relationship in which the Europeans stood towards them was likely to continue as before. They were received with every mark of kindness, were liberally entertained, and were assured that the commander desired nothing more than that the firm friendship between the two races should be unbroken. Sufficient merchandise would constantly be kept on hand, that when they brought cattle for sale all their wants could be supplied.

The first council over which Mr. Wagenaar presided renewed the regulations forbidding every one from molesting or insulting a Hottentot. The Cape clans were declared to have a perfect right to come and go where and when they chose, the only exception being that within the boundaries of the settlement they were required to keep to the recognised thoroughfares.

When the rainy season was over, the commander resolved to visit the Cochoquas in person, as by so doing he thought they would be flattered and very likely could be induced to sell cattle more freely. A fleet was then expected for which a large supply was requisite, and as the encampments of Oedasoa and Gonnema were within a day's ride of the fort the enterprise did not seem very formidable. Mr. Wagenaar took Eva with him to act as interpreter, and ten horsemen and twelve foot soldiers as a guard. He was absent from his quarters eight days, and his observations show that these were days of little enjoyment.

At the Hottentot kraals he found no one from the chiefs down to the poorest individuals ashamed to beg. From small and great there was an unceasing request for tobacco and brandy as long as he had any to give. It is true, the chiefs made him presents of cattle and sheep, and offered abundance of such food as they had, but they looked for ample gifts in return. As for the milk, it was

served in such filthy utensils that he could not touch it, and he was therefore in doubt whether he had not offended them. His only satisfaction arose from the fact that his people were getting together a good flock of sheep by barter. For this purpose he remained at each of the kraals a couple of days, but upon the whole his experience of life among the Hottentots left such a disagreeable impression upon him that he never again paid them a visit.

Soon after his return to the fort a party of Hessequas arrived, bringing with them a goodly herd of cattle for sale. These strangers stated that the country in which they fed their flocks was far away to the eastward, beyond a range of lofty mountains, where no European had ever been. It was a district somewhere between the present villages of Caledon and Swellendam, and the mountain range was the nearest of those seen from the Cape peninsula, or the one which is now crossed by the high road over Sir Lowry's pass. The Hessequas knew of no other people than pastoral clans like their own in that direction. Mr. Wagenaar did not gain much geographical knowledge from these visitors, nor did he question them very closely after he ascertained that they were ignorant of any place which would correspond with Vigiti Magna.

In hope of discovering that long-sought town, thirteen volunteers left the fort on the 21st of October 1662. They were under command of Corporal Pieter Cruythof, with Pieter van Meerhof as assistant. The party followed up the old northern path until they reached an encampment of the Namaquas deep in the wilderness beyond the Elephant river. This should have been their real starting-point, for the country through which they had passed was already well known, but the Namaquas would not permit them to go farther. The clan was at war with its neighbours, and therefore gave the Europeans only the choice of assisting them or of turning back. They chose the last, their instructions prohibiting them from molesting any one, and

thus the expedition was a failure. It was, however, attended by an occurrence which deserves mention.

One night as the travellers were sleeping round their watchfire a shower of darts was poured upon them by an unseen foe, and four of them were severely wounded. The assailants were believed to be Bushmen, though who they were could not be positively ascertained, as they fled before the white men recovered from their surprise. Not long after this event the expedition suddenly came upon a Bushman encampment in which were some women and children. Corporal Cruythof hereupon gave orders that these should be put to death, and that all their effects should be destroyed in revenge for the injuries which the Europeans had sustained. But he met with an indignant and unanimous refusal from the volunteers, who stood by Pieter van Meerhof and replied that they would not shed innocent blood. Cruythof was therefore compelled to abandon his atrocious design. Upon the return of the party to the fort, which they reached on the 1st of February 1663, the authorities expressed approval of what under other circumstances would have been treated as mutiny, and Cruythof, though he underwent no trial, at once lost favour. Shortly afterwards he committed a trivial offence, of which advantage was taken to degrade him in rank. Being a good soldier he was restored at a later period, and even rose to a higher military position, but he was never again employed in dealings with the uncivilised inhabitants.

Towards the close of the year 1662 another expedition, but of a different nature, left the Cape. A fleet of six large ships and a tender, under command of Admiral Hubert de Lairesse, put into Table Bay, where the soldiers who had been waiting some months were taken on board, and the fleet then left for the purpose of trying to wrest Mozambique from the Portuguese. All went well until the latitude of Delagoa Bay was reached. Then stormy weather was encountered, with a head wind which blew violently for nearly two months. The crews at length became ex-

hausted, scurvy broke out, and the admiral was compelled to seek a place of refreshment. The ships were put about, and by the following noon were as far south as they had been five weeks before. They were then close to the coast some distance above Delagoa Bay. Here good holding ground was found in a haven or bight, so they let go their anchors and sent some men ashore to ascertain if any refreshments were to be had.

In a short time it was known that cattle in plenty were to be obtained from the Bantu inhabitants in exchange for iron or other articles of merchandise which they had on board. Every one now thought that all would yet be well, for as soon as they were assured of refreshment they considered their troubles as past, and anticipated the time when the monsoon should change and permit them to renew their design against Mozambique. But their joy was of short duration. The scurvy had not left them when the fever which is endemic on that coast suddenly made its appearance, prostrating whole companies at once. One hundred and fourteen men died within a few days, and half the remainder were laid up when the admiral gave orders to raise the anchors and set sail for Batavia.

At this time another effort was made to open commercial intercourse between the Cape and the island of Madagascar. By order of the directors a small vessel was fitted out and sent to the bay of St. Augustine, with a trading party and a wooden house ready for putting up, as it was intended to form a permanent establishment there if the prospects should be found at all good. The directors appointed the secunde Roelof de Man head of the expedition, but that faithful and deserving officer died on the 5th of March 1663, before the vessel was ready to sail. The council of policy then selected Joachim Blank, the ablest clerk on the Cape establishment, for the command. In December Blank returned to the Cape with a report of failure. He stated that there was very little trade to be done either at the bay of St. Augustine or at other

places which he had visited, as the inhabitants were impoverished by constant wars which they carried on among themselves. He had only been able to obtain eight or nine tons of rice and seven slaves.

The many failures in the efforts to find Vigiti Magna by a northern route had not yet caused the Cape authorities to try in another direction. Accordingly, the exploring expedition of 1663 followed the path of those which had preceded it. The leader was Sergeant Jonas de la Guerre, Pieter van Meerhof was second in command, and there were besides these fourteen European volunteers and three Hottentots. Among the volunteers was a soldier named Hieronymus Cruse,* who was for many years afterwards a prominent person at the Cape. The instructions given to De la Guerre were that he was to take no part in any quarrels, but to endeavour to induce the northern clans to make peace with each other and to come to the fort to trade. If the Namaquas should act as they had done towards Cruythof's party, he was first to threaten them with the enmity of the commander, and if that had no effect he was to march his men forward, when if they attacked him he was to pour a volley of small shot in among them. The sixteen men with firearms in their hands, it was believed, would be more than a match for the Namaqua horde.

They had with them a waggon,† in which their stores were conveyed as far as the Elephant river, where they took it to pieces and buried it in the ground, together

* Descendants in the female line now in South Africa.

† The Cape tent waggon is nothing more than the waggon in common use in the Low Countries when the first settlers came to South Africa, except that the wheels are somewhat higher. When the first waggon makers set to work in this colony, they modelled axle and schamel, draaiboard and tongue, disselboom and longwaggon, precisely as they had done in the fatherland. The rivers and the sand flats necessitated higher wheels, then long journeys called for enlargement of the vehicle, but the model remained unaltered in all other respects down to the days of iron axles and patent brakes.

with some provisions. Starting fresh from this point with pack oxen, and having a supply of food in reserve against their return, they had hardly a doubt that they would be able to reach the great river of the map. But the want of water in that arid region destroyed all their hopes. They pushed on bravely, though their sufferings were intense, but at length they were compelled either to turn back or to lie down and die. Fainting with thirst they reached the Elephant river again, and found that during their absence their stores had been discovered and removed. The waggon had been burnt, probably for the sake of the iron work. Still the oxen were left, so that they were in no danger of starvation, but they arrived at the fort after an absence of more than three months in a very different condition from that in which they left it.

In this year a public work of considerable importance was completed. A water tank fifty-five metres long, fifteen metres wide, and from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and sixty centimetres deep, was constructed about a stone's throw westward of the fort and near the margin of the bay. It was intended for the convenience of the shipping.

Shortly after the establishment of a residency at the Cape, the East India Company had withdrawn its garrison from Mauritius, as that island was not in a good position for a victualling station and nothing of commercial value except ebony and a small quantity of ambergris was procurable there. Before they embarked the Dutch turned loose a number of cows, goats, and pigs, which in a few years multiplied into large herds. Mauritius remained unpeopled from this date until 1664, when the directors resolved to take possession of it again, more for the purpose of keeping other nations away than for any direct profit which they could draw from it.

Just then the French were making strenuous efforts to form settlements in that part of the world. Their king had taken into his own hands the direction of the factories at Madagascar, and that great island seemed likely under

his guidance to become a place of importance. Bishop Estienne had at length succeeded in reaching the field upon which his hopes had so long been set, and now with a large staff of ecclesiastics he was engaged in erecting a monastery near Port Dauphin, from which missionaries were to be sent out to convert the inhabitants. The French had also just taken possession of Mascarenhas, and placed a small garrison upon that island, which they named Bourbon. It was evident therefore that Mauritius must be reoccupied, or the Company would be excluded from a large portion of the Indian sea. It was not intended, however, to form an expensive establishment there, but merely to keep a few men upon the island, which was to be an outpost of the Cape residency.

In May 1664 a small party was sent from this place under the leadership of Jacobus van Nieuwland, an officer selected in Holland and sent out for the purpose. On the 26th of June they landed on the island and resumed possession on behalf of the honourable Company. They had with them a wooden house, a quantity of seeds and tools, and a twelve months' supply of provisions. These were put on shore, and then the vessel in which they arrived set sail, leaving the little garrison in loneliness.

For a whole year after this the island remained unvisited. Then a cutter was sent from the Cape with supplies, and in case the garrison had in the meantime met with any disaster, a fresh party of men and a new commandant were sent also. This party found the establishment at Mauritius completely disorganised. Jacobus van Nieuwland was dead, and the soldiers had thrown off all restraint. Most of them had left the residency as soon as the last keg of spirits was drawn off, and were then leading a half savage life, depending upon wild goats for food, though the stock of foreign provisions was still ample and the garden only wanted attending to. The new commandant was unable to restore order until three of the chief mutineers were seized and put in irons on board the cutter. They

were brought to the Cape, where they were tried and punished, one of them very severely.

From this time matters went on smoothly at Mauritius, though the growth of the establishment there was very slow. Every year a vessel sailed from Table Bay with supplies, and brought back ebony logs. Sometimes a soldier would request to be discharged there, when he became a burgher just as at the Cape. Once, three families were forcibly transported from Rondebosch to that island by Commander Wagenaar, because their heads were worthless characters, and the council of policy thought a change of residence might bring them to their senses. In process of time councils were formed there similar to those in this country, but all were subordinate to the Cape authorities. Thus a man who lost a case in the court of justice at Mauritius could appeal to the court of justice at the Cape. Mauritius, in fact, stood in the same relationship to this country as this country did to Batavia.

The commandant who was sent to that island in 1665 was a man who deserves more than mere passing notice. His name was George Frederick Wreede. A runaway German student, like many others in similar circumstances he enlisted as a soldier, and came to South Africa in 1659. At that time no government in Europe offered such opportunities of advancement to men of merit as did the East India Company of the Netherlands. Many of its foremost commanders and governors had risen from the ranks, and the directors were always ready to make use of ability wherever they could find it. Whatever the fault was which caused Wreede to leave Germany, it could not have been connected with want of brain power or distaste of study. He was no sooner in Africa among a strange race of barbarians, of whose inner life absolutely nothing was known, than he set himself to the task of studying their characteristics. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, so that after the death of the old interpreters Harry and Doman the commander employed

him on all important occasions as his messenger to chiefs at a distance. He was at this time utilising his spare hours by arranging a vocabulary of Dutch and Hottentot words, two copies of which he sent to the directors, to whom he dedicated it, in November 1663. The commander, when forwarding the work, requested that it might be printed, and asked that some copies might be sent to the Cape, where it would be useful. What became of these manuscripts cannot be ascertained from any documents hitherto found in South Africa or in the archives of Holland, but there is strong reason to believe that they were lent to the historian Ludolf, and were among his papers at the time of his death. The directors, though they deemed it more advisable that the Hottentots should learn the language of the Dutch than that the Europeans should learn theirs, promised to have the work printed, but whether that promise was carried out appears to be doubtful.

The first Cape author had no reason to complain of his labour not being remunerated. The directors instructed the commander to present him in their name with a sum of money equal to twenty pounds sterling, and they ordered him to be promoted to a good situation in any branch of their service that he should select. There was then a design to establish a residency on one of the islands of Martin Vaz, which were believed to be suitable for a victualling station in time of war. A vessel was being fitted out at the Cape for that purpose when the despatch of the directors was received, and upon the order being communicated to Wreede he asked for the commandantship of the new station. His request was at once acceded to, but upon arriving with his party at Martin Vaz, he found that his government comprised nothing more than a group of bare and almost inaccessible rocks. It was impossible to form a station, and as the master of the vessel objected to cruise about in search of a habitable island, he was obliged to return disappointed to the Cape. His journal of the voyage to Martin Vaz and his report to Commander

Wagenaar are still to be seen in the colonial archives. Upon his return from this expedition he was sent to Mauritius, and assumed the command there.

In September 1664 intelligence was received at the Cape of the likelihood of war between England and the Netherlands. The directors wrote that the government of Charles II seemed bent upon a rupture, though the States were anxiously striving to maintain peace, if that was possible without loss of honour. It would appear that commercial rivalry was at the bottom of this ill-feeling, and that the English government could not suppress the war spirit of the people. But though it is usual for historians of all nations to throw the blame of the humiliating war which followed entirely upon the English, there is proof extant that outrages were by no means confined to one side. Piratical acts were committed in distant seas by Dutch and English alike, without the perpetrators being punished. In the colonial archives there is a detailed account of one such act, which was committed by the crew of an Indiaman that put into Table Bay. On the passage out they overhauled two English vessels and searched them for treasure. The officers of one they tortured with burning ropeyarn to make them confess whether they had anything of value on board.

For many months matters remained in a state of suspense. On the 24th of October the directors wrote that news had been received at the Hague of the capitulation of the West India Company's possessions in North America to an English fleet. The Dutch factories on the coast of Guinea had also been attacked, though war was not yet formally declared. At length, on the 9th of June 1665, tidings reached South Africa that the English had seized a great number of ships in the Channel, that the Dutch were retaliating, and that the two nations were openly at war.

During the period of uncertainty preceding the formal declaration of hostilities, the directors took into considera-

tion the importance of their residency at the Cape, as commanding the highway to India, and its defenceless condition in the event of a sudden attack. The old earthen fort was indeed sufficient protection against the largest force that the Hottentots could bring against it, but it could not be held against a European enemy of any strength. Its walls were frequently falling, especially after heavy rains, and the guns mounted upon it were harmless to a ship at the usual anchorage.

After much consideration the directors resolved to erect in Table Valley a strong stone fortress capable of sustaining heavy guns, and sufficiently commodious for the accommodation of a large garrison. With this view they caused plans to be prepared, and having approved of the one which seemed most suitable, they gave the necessary orders for putting their design into execution. Instructions were sent to Commander Wagenaar to detain three hundred soldiers from passing ships, and to employ them in getting materials ready. Pieter Dombaer, an engineer, was appointed to superintend the work. The selection of a site for the new fortress, being a matter of the first importance, was entrusted to the commissioner Isbrand Goske,* one of the ablest officers in the Company's service.

A scene of unwonted activity was now presented at the Cape. The three hundred soldiers were landed and were immediately set to work quarrying stone. A party of convicts and slaves was sent to Robben Island to gather shells, and three or four large decked boats were kept busy transporting these shells, as well as fuel from Hout Bay, for the limekilns. On the 18th of August Mr. Goske arrived in the *Nieuw Middelburg*, and after eight days' inspection of the valley, with the approval of a board consisting of the ordinary council of policy and a number of naval and military officers he selected the site of the castle. The spot chosen was two hundred and twenty-seven metres or two

*Spelt variously in the documents of the period Godsken, Gotsken, Godske, and Goske. The last was his own way of spelling his name.

hundred and forty-eight imperial yards south-east of the old fort.

It was supposed that solid rock would be found near the surface. but upon opening trenches this supposition was proved to be incorrect. At no point could the foundation walls be commenced nearer to the surface than three metres and a third, while in some parts excavations more than double that depth were needed. All the waggons in the settlement which were not required for agriculture were engaged in the transport of building material. The farmers were paid at the rate of six shillings and three pence a day for each waggon with oxen and one man, whether a hired servant or a slave.

On Saturday the 2nd of January 1666 the ceremony of laying the first stones took place. The trenches of only one of the five points were completed, for as the foundations were to be three metres and three quarters in thickness the excavation of itself was a work of some magnitude. It was a gala day at the Cape. At an early hour the farmers with their wives and children came in from Rondebosch and Wynberg, the sailors came ashore from the cutters, and all the Company's servants and other residents in Table Valley appeared in their best attire. There were four large hewn stones ready to be lowered to the bottom of the trench where during the years which have since sped away they have supported the walls of the castle of Good Hope. The first was laid by the commander Zacharias Wagenaar, the second by the clergyman Johan van Arckel, the third by the secunde Abraham Gabbema, and the last by the fiscal Hendrik Lacus.

When they were all laid, a sum of money equal to six pounds sterling was presented by the commander on behalf of the Company to the master mechanics. This concluded the formal part of the proceedings, and the remainder of the day was devoted to pleasure.

Two oxen and six sheep, the choicest in the Company's herds, were slaughtered for the occasion, and a hun-

dred huge loaves of bread had been specially baked. Eight casks of Cape ale stood ready for tapping. The tables were spread on the levelled ground inside the trenches, and if they were not covered with such delicacies as are essential to a modern public dinner, those who sat round them were probably quite as happy and contented as if the fare had been a feast for kings.

A holiday was not properly kept in the opinion of the people of the Netherlands without a recitation of poetry specially composed and containing allusions to the event which was being celebrated. Such a time-honoured observance in the fatherland could not with propriety be omitted in its South African dependency. Accordingly, some lines had been prepared—by an amateur poet says Commander Wagenaar, without mentioning his name—which were considered so appropriate that after they were recited a copy was placed for preservation with the records of the colony. Whether they display poetic genius may be questioned, but that they clearly record the event celebrated is beyond dispute.*

*The following are the lines referred to. It will be observed that the poet has taken care to record the date, though in a rather unusual manner :—

Den Eersten Steen **V**an't N**I**euwe **C**asteeL Goede Hope
Heeft **VV**agenaer gelecht **M**et hoop van goede hope.
Ampliatie.
Soo worden voort en voort de rijcken uijtgespreijt,
Soo worden al de swart en geluwen gespreijt.

Soo doet men uijtter aerd een steene wall oprechten,
Daer't donderend metael seer weijnigh can ophechten.

Voor Hottentosen warent altijts eerde wallen,
Nu comt men hier met steen voor anderen oock brallen.

Dus maeckt men dan een schrich soowel d' Europiaen,
Als voor den Aes- Ameer- en wilden Africaen.

Dus wort beroemt gemaeckt 't geheijligst Christendom,
Die zetels stellen in het woeste heijdendom.

Wij loven 't groot bestier en seggen met malcander,
Augustus heerschappij, noch winnend Alexander,
Noch Caesars groot beleijd, zijn noijt daermee geswaerd
Met 't leggen van een steen op 't eijnde van de Aerd.

Just a fortnight later there was another gathering of the Cape community on the same ground. In the centre of the area inside the trenches the framework of a wooden building was being put together, part of which was intended for use as a place of worship. To that framework the coffin of the man who laid the second stone of the castle was borne, and there in the ground beneath the spot where the pulpit was to stand was placed what was mortal of Johan van Arckel. It was a custom of those days to bury persons of note within the walls of churches, so that the minister's was not long the only grave there. Within a few months the wife of Commander Wagenaar found a last resting-place in that ground, and soon the walls were studded thickly with the memorial escutcheons* of those who lay beneath.

In the afternoon of the 20th of September 1665 an Indiaman with the red flag of England floating at her mizen peak stood into Table Bay and dropped an anchor without furling her sails. The *Loosduynen*, a clumsily rigged, slow sailing flute, just in port after a long passage from Texel, was the only vessel lying in the roadstead at the time. The stranger sent ashore a small boat with a petty officer, who informed the commander that the ship was the *Royal Charles*, of thirty-six guns, bound homeward from Surat with a cargo of pepper and calico. The captain, James Barker by name, requested permission to take in a supply of water and to purchase some fresh provisions.

The English had not the faintest suspicion that their country was at war with the Netherlands, and as soon as Commander Wagenaar became aware of this he determined to take advantage of their ignorance and get possession of

*At the head of the funeral procession a small framed board was carried, upon which the coat-of-arms of the deceased was painted, which board was afterwards hung on the walls of the church. It was often carefully prepared and kept in readiness for years before it was used. It was customary for every notary and every one who rose to the rank of a merchant to choose a coat-of-arms for himself.

their ship by strategy. The four men who had come on shore were therefore hospitably entertained, their request was apparently acceded to, and when they returned to their ship a present of fruit and wine was sent to Captain Barker. The object of this was to induce the captain to visit the fort, so that he could be detained as a prisoner without any trouble or danger.

The scheme was nearly thwarted by a drunken mate of the *Loosduynen*, who happened to be coming on shore with a strong crew as the English were going off. He pulled alongside of them, took their boat in tow, and forced them to return to the fort. There he was instantly committed to prison for his trouble, and many apologies were offered to the Englishmen for the rudeness and violence to which they had been subjected.

During the night arrangements were made to carry the *Royal Charles* by surprise as soon as the captain should land. About two hundred and fifty men were armed and distributed in the *Loosduynen* and the large decked boats which were employed to bring shells from Robben Island. It was intended that these should approach as if by chance, and suddenly board the unsuspecting stranger.

At daybreak next morning the *Royal Charles* sent her empty water casks ashore in the longboat, with the captain's brother and ten seamen, who took a present of some value for the commander in return for his courtesy of the preceding evening. The Englishmen were invited into the courtyard of the fort, when to their astonishment the gate was closed upon them and they were informed that they were prisoners of war.

Meantime all the non-combatants of the settlement, male and female, betook themselves to the side of the Lion's rump to witness the capture of the Indiaman. About seven in the morning Captain Barker became suddenly aware that something was wrong. There was no sign of the return of his longboat, a couple of cutters were evidently creeping alongside, the *Loosduynen* was shaking out her

canvas, and two or three shallops full of men were seen at different points along the shore. The sails of the *Royal Charles* were still hanging loose from her yards, and a light breeze from the north-west was rippling the surface of the bay. There was not a moment to be lost. In a few seconds the topsails were sheeted home, the hempen cable was severed by a couple of strokes from an axe, and the Indiaman, gathering way as her canvas was spread to the breeze, was soon standing over towards the Blueberg shore.

All hope of carrying her by surprise being now dispelled, the *Loosduynen* and the cutters hoisted their colours and followed in pursuit, keeping close together. Then commenced a chase which may have seemed exciting to the onlookers from the Lion's rump, but the story of which is calculated only to create mirth at the present day. The *Royal Charles* had the weather-gauge and was the fastest sailer, but she could not beat out of the bay, and so she kept tacking about for three or four hours, the pursuers in vain attempting to get alongside. About eleven o'clock the breeze died away, and then she let go an anchor and fired several shots of defiance. There were not enough rowing boats in the bay to attack her with, so she was safe as long as the calm should last.

At noon Captain Barker waved a white flag as a signal that he would like to communicate with his pursuers. A boat was sent alongside, when he demanded to know the cause of all the commotion, and why his men were detained on shore. He was informed that he would learn all particulars if he would go on board the *Loosduynen*, and he was then requested to strike his flag. To this request his reply was more emphatic than polite. It was to the effect that he had no intention of doing anything of the kind. He was so obliging, however, as to throw to the boat a package of letters he had brought from Surat, but added to it a scornful message for the commander.

Towards evening the breeze sprang up again, and the chase began once more. After a couple of tacks, however,

the *Royal Charles* was fortunate enough to weather Green Point, passing close to the hostile squadron as she did so. The pursuers and the pursued had not been within range of each other during the whole day, but at last there was a chance for a shot. It was getting dusk when the *Loosduynen* fired a broadside, to which the *Royal Charles* replied with her four stern guns. Nobody was hurt on either side, and before the culverins could be loaded again the Englishman had disappeared in the darkness.

Commander Wagenaar was disappointed, but he made the most of what had fallen to him. That evening he calculated to a gulden the value of the longboat and the water casks, the present that the captives had brought ashore, and the two anchors and cables in the bay, allowing, of course, a reasonable margin for the expense of searching for these last and fishing them up when found.

The prisoners offered to work without payment if the commander would promise to send them to Europe with the first return fleet. This offer was declined, and they were sent to Batavia, after having been provided with a very scanty outfit.

For thirteen years after its foundation the settlement was considered too small to demand the services of a resident clergyman. A sermon and prayers were read regularly every Sunday and on special occasions by the sick-comforter, and the other rites of the church were performed occasionally by ships' chaplains. Marriages were usually celebrated before the secretary of the council. The first sick-comforter, Willem Barents Wylant, and his successor, Pieter van der Stael, have already been mentioned. Van der Stael left the Cape for Batavia in September 1663, when Ernestus Back, who had previously held the same office on board a ship, was appointed to the vacant place.

This man was so addicted to intemperance that at times he was unfit to perform his duties. He was repeatedly suspended, on which occasions the fiscal conducted the

services, but punishment and disgrace seemed only to harden him. The commander was fearful that his conduct would bring down divine vengeance upon the community, all the members of which by some method of reasoning were considered subject to the consequences of his guilt. Mr. Wagenaar's alarm was increased by the appearance of a comet, which for two months was seen nightly in the sky. He and his council did not doubt that the terrible star with a tail was put there by God as a threat of righteous punishment, and therefore they considered it high time to get rid of the chief offender.* A yacht was lying in the bay ready to sail for Batavia. Back and his family were unceremoniously hurried on board, and the office was once more vacant. A fortnight later it was filled by the transfer of a sick-comforter named Jan Joris Graa from a ship that called. This man was giving every promise of a useful and honourable career, when he was removed by death in June 1665. Thus there had always been some one whose special duty it was to represent the church, though in a very humble capacity.

But when it was decided to replace the old earthen fort with a substantial stone castle, it was also decided to provide a resident clergyman who should attend to the spiritual instruction of the constantly growing congregation. The reverend Johan van Arckel, who received the appointment, arrived in South Africa in the ship *Nieuw Middelburg*, which cast anchor in Table Bay on the 18th of August 1665. On the 22nd of the same month an ecclesiastical

* "Ondat ons Godt alreede met sijn rechtvaerdige straf over onse vuijle en sondich bedrijff nu wel twee maenden alle nachten achter een door een ijzelicken steert sterre aen den hemel is comen te dreijgen, weswegen dan nu oock hooch noodich geacht hebben ons de gemelte onwaerdige leeraer quijt te maken en de selve nevens sijn familie per dit jacht mede na Batavia vertrecken te laten." Despatch of the Cape council to Governor-General Joan Maetsuijker and the councillors of India, of date 7th February 1665. Stringent regulations against Sabbath breaking also followed the appearance of this comet, and were attributable to it.—Proclamation of 15th January 1665.

court was established, the constitution of which shows the intimate relationship that then existed between the church and the state. The court consisted of a member of the council of policy, who was termed the political commissioner (commissaris politicque), the clergyman, who was a servant of the Company, the deacons, who were selected by the council of policy from a double list of names furnished yearly by the court itself, and the elders, who were indeed elected by the court as representatives of the congregation, but who could perform no duties until the elections were confirmed by the temporal authorities.

Such was the constitution of the consistory or ecclesiastical court, which had primary control of all purely religious observances, and the direction in the first instance of all educational institutions during the whole period of the East India Company's government of the colony. It was in one sense merely an engine of the state, and it was always and in every case subordinate to the council of policy. In practice it was guided by the decrees of the synod of Dort and by precedents of the courts of the fatherland, which were never disputed, and its decisions appear generally to have been in accord with public opinion.

Not long before this time a fierce dispute had arisen among the clergy of the reformed church in India, and the strife was hotly carried on in every congregation and often in the very households of the laity. The question debated was whether the children of unbelieving parents should be baptized or not. At the Cape the custom had been for the ships' chaplains to baptize all slave children that were brought to them for that purpose, at the same time admonishing the owners that it was their duty to have such children educated in Christian principles. Many of these children were half-breeds, and on that account entitled by law to freedom; but even in the case of pure blacks baptism and a profession of Christianity were always at this time considered substantial grounds for claiming emancipation. Yet it does not seem to have been a

mercenary spirit so much as a genuine conviction that the act was not in accordance with the teaching of the Bible which induced many persons at the Cape to object to such baptisms. The members of the council of policy as well as the burghers were divided in opinion, and as no agreement could be come to here, reference was made to Batavia.

A reply was received from the governor-general and council of India, dated 25th of January 1664, in which the authorities at the Cape were informed that the ecclesiastical court at Batavia, in conjunction with the classis of Amsterdam, had decided that the children of unbelieving slaves ought to be baptized, provided that those with whom they lived bound themselves to have such children educated in the Christian religion. They had arrived at this opinion, it was stated, from the precedent furnished by the patriarch Abraham, all the males of whose household had been circumcised on account of their master's faith. In conformity with this decision, the honourable Company had established a school at Batavia for the education of the children of its own slaves, all of whom were baptized in infancy, and the Cape government was directed to act in the same manner.

In some of the Company's possessions, however, the burning question could not be set at rest even by all the authority of the Indian government and the Amsterdam classis, supported by the precedent of the Hebrew patriarch. Many clergymen took a different view of that precedent. The laity continued to be divided, so much so that not a few congregations were rent asunder and were ranged anew in hostile order. The strife even extended into families and created bitterness between the nearest relatives.

Mr. Van Arckel embraced the views held by the classis, and baptized all the children that were brought to him, whether they were of believing or unbelieving parents. The Company's own slave children were sent to school, where they were taught to say their prayers and to repeat

the Heidelberg catechism. For a time all strife ceased in matters ecclesiastical, for the clergyman had won the affection of the people by his gentleness and piety. But he had hardly time to do more than take his work well in hand when, on the 12th of January 1666, less than six months from the date of his arrival, he died after a very brief illness. To supply his place temporarily the council detained the chaplain of the next ship that called, pending the appointment of a permanent successor by the supreme authorities. The chaplain so detained, Johannes de Voocht* by name, remained at the Cape for several months, during which time he followed the same course as Mr. Van Arckel. The recent burning question of the day was nearly forgotten, when an incident occurred which revived it for a moment.

On the afternoon of Sunday the 21st of March 1666 the congregation was assembled for worship in the great hall of the commander's house in the old fort. The room did not much resemble the interior of a church in its fittings, but as yet the building which was to be specially set apart for religious services was not completed, and this apartment had always been used for the purpose. Round the walls hung various trophies of the chase, chiefly skins of slaughtered lions and leopards, and over the end windows and the doors which on each side opened into smaller rooms were polished horns of some of the larger antelopes. At the end opposite the entrance usually stood the figure of a zebra made by stuffing the hide of one of those animals with straw but this was removed before the service commenced. When Commander Wagenaer came to the colony the windows of the hall like those of the private rooms were unglazed, Mr. Van Riebeek having been satisfied with calico screens, but this defect had been remedied, and now the congregation had plenty of light to read their Bibles and psalm books.

*This name is spelt variously in the documents of that date Voocht, Vooght, and Voogt.

The preacher was the reverend Johannes de Voocht. Occupying an elevated seat just in front of the little platform which served for a pulpit was the commander, behind whom sat the secunde and the fiscal. The elders and the deacons had stools to themselves on one side of the platform, and on the other side sat the reverend Philippus Baldeus, chaplain of the ship *Venenburg*, the same man who six years later published at Amsterdam a large and beautiful folio volume descriptive of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon. The body of the hall was filled with people of less note.

After the sermon a child of European parentage was brought forward and baptized. Then a slave woman went up to the platform with her infant in her arms, but before Mr. De Voocht could dip his fingers in the water up rose the reverend Mr. Baldeus and protested against the performance of the rite. The commander was astonished at the audacity of the man who dared in such a manner to interfere with a service conducted with the approval of the Indian authorities in one of their own forts, but he chose to remain silent. Mr. Baldeus went on to say that he was better informed in such matters than any one here, and that the practice in vogue was decidedly wrong. Upon this interruption, the officiating clergyman desisted from performing the baptism, and the service was closed.

Next morning the council met and went over in debate the whole history of the dispute. It was then unanimously resolved that the orders received be implicitly obeyed, so as to preserve harmony and peace in religious as well as in political matters, and that therefore the reverend Mr. De Voocht be instructed to baptize the slave child on the following Sunday, together with any others brought to him for that purpose. This settled the question for a time at the Cape, but some years subsequently it came to the surface again, and down to a recent date continued to cause disruptions, happily however not attended by the violent animosities of a bygone age.

Subsidiary to the church was the school of the period, in which the children were taught to read and write, to cast up accounts in gulden and stivers, to sing psalms, and to repeat the catechism and sundry prayers. The first school at the Cape was that opened by Pieter van der Stael for the instruction of the slave children from the west coast. It was closed after a few weeks, owing to events that have been related. Towards the end of 1663 a school was again opened, with Ernestus Back as teacher. The fees were at first fixed at two shillings a month for each child of a burgher, but this charge was shortly reduced to one half. Slave and Hottentot children were to be taught without charge, for God (pro Deo), as stated in the regulations. The school was commenced with seventeen pupils, four being slave children, one a youthful Hottentot, and the remaining twelve Europeans. Back's misconduct, however, soon necessitated his suspension as a teacher of youth, when a steady well-behaved soldier named Daniel Engelgraeff was appointed schoolmaster. Under his care the pupils increased in number, and nothing occurred until his death to interrupt the work.

The early settlers at the Cape showed even by their school regulations how thoroughly practical a people they were. Thus, there was no fixed time for holidays, because the loft in which the school was kept was needed for the accommodation of visitors if a fleet was in the bay, when the children were of necessity released.

During the period of Mr. Wagenaar's government the Europeans and Hottentots lived generally on the best of terms with each other. Once only an event occurred which caused a little unpleasantness. A party of Cochoquas with cattle for sale encamped one evening close to the watch-house Keert de Koe, where the gate was through which they must pass to enter the Company's territory. There a soldier on guard detected some of them in the act of breaking down the fence to make a fire, and upon his ordering them off they belaboured him severely with

their sticks.* Next morning they came on to the fort as if nothing had happened, but the soldier was there before them, and upon making his complaint two of them were arrested and placed in confinement. The others were informed that upon their producing the actual assailants the prisoners would be released, but not until then. Thereupon they returned to their clan to arrange as to what should be done, and after a short delay ten good oxen and as many sheep were sent to the commander as a recompense for what had occurred. Mr. Wagenaar accepted the cattle instead of the hostages, with a promise on his part that they would be returned at any time upon the production of the disturbers of the peace. These never were produced, and so after waiting some months a pecuniary award was made to the soldier and the cattle were slaughtered for the benefit of the Company.

The Cochoquas and Chainouquas † were by this time so well supplied with copper and trinkets that they seldom brought cattle for sale except when they were in want of tobacco, but from the Hessequas large herds were frequently bartered. All were anxious to procure iron, and the commander could at any time have obtained from the nearest Cape clans as many oxen as he required in exchange for the much-coveted article, had he chosen to supply it. But under no circumstances would he part with as much iron as would make an assagai, for fear of

* The word kerie, by which this weapon is now generally known to Dutch and English alike in South Africa, had not yet come into general use. This word closely resembles in sound the name for a short stick with a jackal's tail attached to it, used for brushing away flies and other purposes, and which the Hottentot men carried about with them just as the Betshuana do now. There being no Dutch name for either this or the fighting stick with a clubbed head, the latter may easily have had the name of the former given to it.

† About this time the Chainouquas began to be called Soeswas by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, died in 1664. In the same manner, one branch of the Cochoquas had now the name Gonnemas given to it.

the ultimate consequences to the Europeans. Some of the Hottentots understood how to smelt this metal for themselves, but the quantity in general use was very small.

In the disputes between the clans the policy of Mr. Wagenaar was that of strict neutrality whenever he could not mediate so as to preserve peace. In 1664 the Cochoquas and the Hessequas were at war with each other, when Oedasoa offered to pay six hundred head of good cattle in advance for military assistance, and as many more after the return of an expedition which he was planning, if it should succeed in crushing his enemy. The offer was declined without hesitation, and Oedasoa was informed that the Dutch were determined to quarrel with no one unless they were compelled in defence to do so.

In the following year the Hottentots suffered very severely from a disease which broke out among them. What its nature was is not stated, but as the Europeans were not attacked by it, it is improbable that it was introduced by them. It was certainly not small-pox.* Mr. Wagenaar computed the loss of the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas at one-fifth of their original number, so that they were left with only about eight hundred fighting men. The Cochoquas suffered even more. In the words of the commander, they melted away. Whether other clans were affected is not mentioned, but the disease, whatever it was, can hardly have been confined only to those nearest the Cape.

The number of Hottentots residing permanently in Table Valley increased during Mr. Wagenaar's administration to about eighty souls. This increase was owing to an influx

* It is of course possible that it may have been a disease introduced by Europeans without their suffering from it. Consumption, for instance, could have been brought from Europe by a person affected with it in its early stages, and be imparted by him to Hottentots. He might recover perfect health in this dry climate, while they might perish, as so many of them have done from that disease, it being new to them. But it is obvious that the malady on this occasion cannot have been consumption.

of some of the most worthless individuals from the pastoral clans. They had a kraal of their own on the slope under the Lion's head, where after Harry's death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou. The commander never interfered in any quarrel among themselves, but he gave them notice that if any were caught stealing from Europeans he would have them soundly flogged. They lived, according to Mr. Wagenaar, by sending their women to collect firewood for sale, placing their little daughters in service, and further by fishing occasionally and begging constantly. The men could seldom be induced to do any other work than tend cattle, and that only in return for spirits and tobacco. They could all understand Dutch so well that an interpreter was no longer needed.

Eva, who had been brought up in Mr. Van Riebeek's house, was baptized soon after the arrival of Mr. Wagenaar, and two years later was married to that sturdy explorer Pieter van Meerhof. The commander and council believed that this union would tend to promote goodwill between the two races, and they resolved to show their approbation of it in a substantial manner. Eva was considered a child of the Company, having served as an interpreter for many years without other payment than food and clothing. A bridal feast was therefore prepared for her at the Company's expense in the commander's house, and a wedding present of ten pounds in money was made to her. The bridegroom was promoted to the full rank of a surgeon, with pay at the rate of three pounds a month. In the following year he was further advanced to the office of overseer on Robben Island, where in addition to the old establishment a party of men was placed to collect shells and dress stones for particular work in the castle.

The prices paid by the Company for grain were raised at this time, as the burghers complained that the old rates allowed them no profit. Wheat was raised to eleven shillings and eight pence, rye and barley to nine shillings and two pence, and oats to six shillings and eight pence

the muid. The farmers were paying from sixteen shillings and eight pence to twenty-five shillings a month to European men-servants as wages. The Javanese horses had increased so greatly in number that the Company began now to supply the farmers with them. In 1665 the first troop of sixteen were sold by public auction, and brought on an average four pounds five shillings each.*

In 1666 there were sixteen free families living in Table Valley. Of these, four kept canteens, one had a retail grocery, one was a baker, and the remainder were mechanics. The government fixed the price of everything that was sold. An officer went round periodically to test all weights and measures. Such as were correct were stamped by him, and such as were not according to the Amsterdam standard were destroyed.

Commander Wagenaar had not been two years in South Africa when he requested the directors to relieve him of the cares of government, owing to his ill health. In December 1664 his request was so far complied with that he was informed of the appointment of a successor in the person of Cornelis van Quaelberg, who, however, was unable to leave Europe just then. It was intended that the commissioner Isbrand Goske should remain here until Mr. Van Quaelberg's arrival, but when he reached the colony the commander's health was so improved that it was unnecessary for him to stay after the site of the castle was fixed.

* It was the custom to post up copies of proclamations and notices in a public place, where every one could see them. The wording of the notice of the first sale of horses in the colony may amuse some readers :—Men adverteert en laat een ijgelijck mits desen weten dat den commandeur en Raedt van't fort de goede hoope voornemen is eenige Jonge paerden die hier te lande voortgeteelt zijn soo hengsten als merrijen aen meestbiedende off uijt de hant te vercoopen, die daer gadinge in heeft die come op woensdagh aenstaende des achtermiddaegs, te drie uijren zijnde den 25en deser in des E Comps Paerdestal en doe goet coop.

In't fort de goede Hoope adij 21en Februarij 1665.

SEGGET VOORTH.

Mr. Van Quaelberg left Holland in the ship *Dordrecht* on the 19th of December 1665, but did not reach South Africa until the 25th of August 1666. During the war ships sailing from the Netherlands for the Indies did not attempt to pass through the English channel, but stood away to the north-west and rounded the British islands. In midwinter the *Dordrecht* was so battered and tossed about in the stormy North sea that she was compelled to put into the Faroë isles, where she lay for nine weeks. After leaving those isles she lost by death one hundred and ten sailors and soldiers, and when she at last entered Table Bay hands had to be sent from shore to drop her anchors and furl her sails, for there was not a single person in sound health on board. Mr. Van Quaelberg landed at once with his family, but he did not take over the government until the 27th of September. On that day a ceremony took place similar to that with which Mr. Wagenaar assumed office. Four years and a half had gone by since that event, and only one of the old members of the government was present on this occasion. Roelof de Man and Pieter Everaert had died in the interval. Abraham Gabbema, who followed the first named of these as secunde, had left for Batavia high in favour with the directors only a few months before. Hendrik Lacus, secretary when Mr. Van Riebeek left, was now secunde, and beneath him at the council board sat the lieutenant Abraham Schut, the fiscal Cornelis de Cretzer, the ensign Johannes Coon, and the surgeon Pieter van Clinkenberg.

On the 1st of October Mr. Wagenaar with his daughter-in-law sailed in the *Dordrecht* for Batavia. He knew, when he left, very little more of the country and its people than what his predecessor had taught him. After the return of the party under Sergeant Jonas de la Guerre, he sent out no more exploring expeditions, and no new clans except the Hessequas had visited the fort during his government. The boundary of the settlement remained exactly where Mr. Van Riebeek had left it. Two of the old watch-houses,

Houdt den Bul and Koren Hoop, had been broken down; the other three, Duynhoop, Keert de Koe, and Kyck uyt, were kept in good repair.

The number of men to whom free papers were given during this period was very small. There were only four whose descendants are in South Africa at the present day: Dirk Bosch, Elbert Diemer, Jan Pretorius, and Jacob Rosendaal. Further, two or three women, either wives of or betrothed to men already in the colony, arrived from the Netherlands, and were added to the settled population.* Mr. Wagenaar seems to have been prejudiced against the burghers, for the statistics which he was obliged to furnish show that they were far from being as idle as on more than one occasion he pronounced them to be. In the last official document which bears his name he wrote that in his opinion twenty-five industrious Chinese families would be of as much service to the Company as fifty families of such Europeans as were established here, and regretted that they could not be procured. The poor opinion which he entertained of his countrymen was probably a reflection of their feelings regarding him, for there is no trace of the slightest sign of regret shown by any one on his departure.

Two years later Mr. Wagenaar's name occurs again in the colonial archives. He was vice-admiral of the return fleet of 1668, and in that capacity spent a few days in the settlement. Not long after this it is found once more, when information arrived of his death, and that he had bequeathed a sum of money for the use of the guardians of the poor at the Cape, so that this outwardly cold impassive man was at heart a philanthropist.

* On the 22nd of April 1664 the directors authorised the different chambers to send to the Cape two or three respectable girls, from orphan houses or elsewhere, with suitable families proceeding to India, in whose service and under whose care they were to be regarded while on board ship. Before leaving the Netherlands the girls were to bind themselves to remain fifteen years in the colony. None, however, availed themselves of the offer at the time, except one or two who were affianced to men living here.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CORNELIS VAN QUAELBERG, COMMANDER, INSTALLED 27TH SEPTEMBER 1666, DISMISSED 18TH JUNE 1668.
JACOB BORGHORST, COMMANDER, INSTALLED 18TH JUNE 1668, RETIRED 25TH MARCH 1670.

OF Commmander Van Quaelberg, previous to his arrival in South Africa, no information is given in the colonial archives, except that he was the head of the Company's factory at Masulipatam from 1652 to 1657, and that he had amassed considerable property. He was a younger and more active but in many respects a less estimable man than Mr. Wagenaar. It is impossible to read a dozen pages of the mass of documents bearing his signature without observing that he was intensely selfish, harsh towards his dependents, cringing towards his superiors, a man who studied no one's happiness but his own. He was a skilful naval commander, however, and must have possessed some special qualifications for the post he now filled, or the directors of the East India Company would not have selected him for it, though what these were cannot be ascertained from his writings. In his letters he was fond of calling attention to the mistakes of his predecessor, and of boasting of the different way in which he was managing affairs, but neither the supreme authorities nor the residents at the Cape looked upon that different way as a better way. To the burghers he was a tyrant, who acted on the principle that prosperous subjects are insolent subjects and therefore they should be kept poor. The freemen were not long in finding out that if Commander Wagenaar had personified King Log, Commander Van Quaelberg knew well the part of King Stork.

As soon as the Hottentot clans in the neighbourhood heard that the Europeans had a new head, their chiefs sent complimentary messages and presents of oxen and sheep to him, as was customary among themselves. These friendly greetings were replied to in the same manner, for upon the cattle trade rested to a large extent the utility of the Cape residency, and the instructions of the directors were emphatic that the Hottentots were to be conciliated in every possible way.

Mr. Van Quaelberg found the walls of the point of the castle nearest the anchorage rising slowly out of the ground. One of the difficulties which the workmen complained of was the scarcity of timber such as they needed for a variety of purposes at the quarries as well as at the walls. The forests which Mr. Van Riebeek had found in the kloofs of the mountain side above Rondebosch were already exhausted, so that no timber was obtainable closer at hand than Wynberg. The government issued orders against reckless waste, but as the wood-cutters were left without supervision, the orders were constantly neglected. The forests—like all others in South Africa—were composed of a variety of trees mingled together, in which it rarely happened that half a dozen of one kind were found growing side by side. Often the kind of timber required at the time was far from the outer border, and then, to get the log out, a pathway was opened broad enough for a team of oxen to move in and straight enough to prevent jamming. For this purpose great numbers of small trees were cut down, and left either to decay or to furnish material for a destructive fire. With such a system of working, the forests, which were at first of no great size, soon disappeared altogether.

About three months after Mr. Van Quaelberg took over the government a fleet of twelve ships, under command of the marquis De Montdevergue, viceroy of the French possessions in the East, put into Table Bay. The equipment of this fleet had been watched with unusual anxiety in

the Netherlands. During the preceding sixty years the French had made frequent but fruitless efforts to form a powerful East India Company, but now the minister Colbert had organised an association which Louis XIV was determined should prove successful. It was modelled generally after that of the Netherlands, but the shareholders had various privileges which those in the Low Countries did not enjoy. They had a guarantee from the government against loss during the first ten years, their fleets were to be convoyed by national war ships free of charge, everything needed by them for shipbuilding was to be admitted into France duty free. In addition to these and other substantial aids, honours and titles were freely offered by the court to those who should display the greatest zeal in the new Company's service. With these odds against them, the traders of Holland and Zeeland felt that they had cause for alarm.

There was yet another reason for them to regard with anxiety the first large fleet fitted out by the Company which was trying to wrest from them a portion of the eastern trade. France had enormous wealth and resources, her king had inspired his nobles and his people with enthusiasm for the new enterprise, but she had no men with the knowledge and training necessary to conduct it successfully. The alarm of the directors was therefore increased when they learned that an officer who had grown grey in their service, and whose ability was unquestioned, had taken employment with their rivals. François Caron, the officer here alluded to, was of French descent, but had long held positions of trust under the Batavian government. He was intimately acquainted with every branch of the Indian trade and with the politics of the various eastern courts. And now, stung to the quick by some slight, fancied or real, he had left the Dutch service, and offered himself to Colbert and the French Company.

But in the post assigned to him a blunder was made such as the ministers of Louis XIV can seldom be charged

with. He should have had the chief command in the East, instead of which the title and power of viceroy were given to a man of high rank but with no qualifications for the post, and Caron was forced to take the second place. The mistake of giving the authority to one man when another had the ability was discovered only after the expedition had undergone almost incredible suffering and disaster in endeavouring to form settlements at Madagascar, but not too late for Caron to form the first French factory on the coast of Hindostan.

Notwithstanding all the trouble that was taken in France to equip the fleet, it was sent to sea ill-conditioned for a long voyage. The ships were crowded with landsmen and soldiers, but of seamen there was great lack. Order was wanting on board, and although they left Rochelle with large supplies of provisions, the waste was so great that when the fleet put into Pernambuco for refreshment symptoms of distress were beginning to be apparent. A Dutch sailor who was there at the time visited the admiral's ship, and immediately afterwards wrote to the directors at Amsterdam a description of what he saw. He described the ship as so filthy that it would be a wonder if pestilence did not break out, and so ill-provided with everything requisite that he did not believe she could ever reach Madagascar.

From Pernambuco the fleet sailed for Table Bay. Though the French could not be regarded as allies of the Dutch, they were also at this time at war with England, and therefore De Montdevergue might reasonably have looked forward to a friendly reception here, in outward form at least. His fleet was scattered on the passage, and his own ship was the first to reach South Africa. As soon as he let go his anchors he saluted the fort with five guns, which courtesy was promptly returned with three, according to the custom of the day. Mr. Van Quaelberg immediately sent a messenger on board to welcome the French viceroy and to invite him to land.

The viceroy excused himself for that afternoon, upon which the commander himself visited the *St. Jean* and tendered his services to supply the fleet with anything that was to be had in the settlement.

Of this offer De Montdevergue availed himself to its fullest extent. He not only thoroughly refreshed his people, but he drew a considerable quantity of sea stores from the Company's magazines. One of his vessels was so leaky that it was considered dangerous for her to proceed farther. Mr. Van Quaelberg had her repaired with materials kept for the Company's own use and by carpenters maintained for the Company's own service. Upon the whole as much was done to assist this French fleet as if it had been the property of the owners of the settlement and not of their declared rivals, so that by the aid thus given the viceroy was enabled to reach Madagascar with his forces undiminished.

The commanding position of the Cape of Good Hope had not escaped the observation of Louis XIV, and he had accordingly instructed his deputy to take possession of Saldanha Bay and establish a residency there. Against this design the council of policy entered a protest, on the ground that the honourable Company was already in occupation. A dozen men were sent overland with all haste to Saldanha Bay, where two were stationed on each of the islets Jutten, Marcus, and Schapen, and five with a petty officer formed a camp at the watering place. The French surveyed the bay and set up landmarks with their arms upon them, but left without forming any establishment.

As soon as his visitors had gone, Mr. Van Quaelberg took a careful view of the situation. They had eaten nearly everything, so that little was left for the return fleet from Batavia, which might be expected in three or four months. The chief want was slaughter cattle, and without loss of time trading parties were organised and sent to the different clans. Schacher, who had succeeded

his father the fat captain Gogosoa as head of the Kaapmans, appears now in the character of a trader. He was entrusted with a good stock of merchandise, with which he went inland bartering cattle on commission for the honourable Company. The commander's wife headed another party, which took a Cochoqua encampment across the bay for its field of operations. Mrs. Van Quaelberg was out three days, and returned boasting of a fair measure of success.

Hieronymus Cruse, now promoted to the rank of corporal, with a third party struck away to the eastward, crossed the Hottentots-Holland mountains, and collected some hundreds of oxen and sheep among the kraals of the Hessequas. Pushing still farther on his next journey he encountered a tribe called the Gouriqua, from whom he bartered the finest herds yet seen in the settlement. The kraals of these people were on the banks of the river which has since that time been called from them the Gourits. The corporal went as far as the bend in the coast to which Paulus van Caerden sixty-five years earlier had given the name Mossel Bay. There the Gouriquas informed him that their next neighbours were the Attaquas, who were also rich in cattle, but there was now no necessity for him to go farther.

In May 1667 letters were received from home with an account of the victorious career of the Dutch fleet and of the memorable exploits of De Ruyter in the Thames. The directors believed that there was no longer anything to be feared from the naval power of England, and therefore deemed it unnecessary to be at the cost of completing the castle in Table Valley. They gave orders that the work was to be suspended forthwith, and that all the soldiers who could be spared were to be sent to Batavia. When these instructions were received, four out of the five points of the castle had not been commenced, and the one which had absorbed the labour of nearly three hundred men for more than twenty-one months was not

fully completed. Its walls were a little higher than the stone bearing the date 1667 which can be seen from the side of the bay a few feet from the angle nearest the present railway station.

It was intended that the vessel which took the supplies for Mauritius in 1667 should call at Madagascar for trading purposes and then explore the south-east coast of Africa, but the last design was frustrated by a tragic event.

Pieter van Meerhof, the most energetic of early South African travellers, was sent as director of trade and exploration. It will be remembered that he had married the interpreter Eva, to whom some interest attaches on account of her being the first Hottentot to profess Christianity and to conform to European habits of living. By the time of her marriage her services as interpreter could be dispensed with, as nearly all the children of the beach-rangers, and particularly the girls who were in service, could speak Dutch fluently. Soon afterwards Van Meerhof was appointed superintendent of the party on Robben Island, and she went there with him. Then for a couple of years her name disappears from the documents of the period, excepting in a brief paragraph concerning her coming from the island to the fort with a child to be baptized. In 1667 it occurs again to record the particulars of an injury which she sustained by an accidental fall, after which for another twelvemonth her name is not mentioned.

When the building of the castle was suspended there was no longer any need for the establishment at Robben Island, and so Van Meerhof was appointed head of the expedition to Mauritius and Madagascar. At the bay of Antongil he went ashore with eight men to see what trade could be done, and while unsuspicious of danger the little party was attacked by the inhabitants and all were murdered.

In February 1668 news was received from the Netherlands that a treaty of peace with England had been signed

on the 24th of the preceding August, but that it was not to have effect south of the equator until the 24th of April. A large English fleet had put to sea shortly before the letter was written, and as the directors were unable to ascertain its destination they gave instructions to detain all of their ships that should call at Table Bay, and to keep a good watch until the period of possible hostilities was ended.

Mr. Van Quaelberg maintained the same attitude as his predecessors towards the Hottentots. They were not permitted to be molested, nor was there any interference with their domestic affairs. Even the beachrangers living in Table Valley were left to themselves, and were not made subject to the Dutch tribunals except when they committed offences against Europeans. There are only two instances on record of Hottentots being punished at this time. The first offender was convicted of theft, and was soundly flogged and sent as a prisoner to Robben Island, but was released soon afterwards upon payment by his friends of two oxen and eight sheep. The second was found guilty of assault, but compromised by the payment of eight fat sheep. If these punishments be compared with those inflicted upon Europeans for similar offences, they will be found exceedingly mild.

During this commander's administration only one other event occurred which is worthy of mention in connection with the Hottentots. In May 1668 a strong band of Namaquas made a foray upon some small Cochoqua kraals at Saldanha Bay, and seized their herds. A few oxen and sheep belonging to the Company which were running in the neighbourhood of the post fell a prey to the raiders, and two or three of the Europeans who attempted a rescue were wounded with arrows. Thereupon they opened fire with their muskets, with the result that three of the Namaquas were shot dead. The remainder escaped with the booty. But next morning they sent messengers back to ask for peace with the white men, whom, they said,

they had no desire to offend. This was at once granted, and in the course of the day the Europeans sent out a trading party and bartered as many of the plundered cattle as they had copper and beads to pay for. A messenger was despatched in haste to the commander, who approved of this proceeding and immediately sent a reinforcement of men to the outpost with a large stock of merchandise, but the Namaquas had by that time fallen back too far to be reached. This transaction was referred to in after years by the plundered Cochoquas as an unfriendly proceeding. They could never be made to understand that it was fair for their allies the white men to become possessed of their sheep in this manner.

The regulations forbidding trade between the freemen and the Hottentots were very rigidly enforced by Commander Van Quaelberg. Some of the farmers were suspected of purchasing sheep privately at prices greatly in advance of those which the Company was giving. To prevent this, the burghers were required to surrender at a valuation all the African sheep in their possession, and were prohibited from keeping any other than those showing European blood, so that if they persisted in setting the law at defiance they would be easily detected. The old regulations prohibiting the burghers from selling cattle to each other, which had been nearly dormant during Mr. Wagenaar's government, were likewise revived. These oppressive laws caused much discontent in the settlement, which was increased when a proclamation was issued forbidding the freemen to carry firearms without special permission. The commander was treating the burghers and their complaints with utter contempt, and writing of them in most disparaging terms, when his connection with them and with South Africa was abruptly brought to an end.

In those days news travelled slowly. The French fleet under the viceroy De Montdevergue was in Table Bay in December 1666, and it was not until the following November that what had occurred here became known

in Amsterdam. It may be imagined that the directors were not a little incensed to find that the fleet whose outfit had caused them such uneasiness had been assisted so greatly by one of their own servants. They considered that there could be no excuse for his conduct either in leaving the fort and placing his person in the power of the foreigners, or in furnishing strangers and rivals with stores kept at the Cape for their own service. There were sixteen out of the seventeen directors present when this subject was discussed, and they resolved unanimously to dismiss Mr. Van Quaelberg from their employment. A successor was immediately appointed and instructed to proceed to South Africa and take over the government as soon as possible. In the letter of dismissal (20th of November 1667) Mr. Van Quaelberg was required to transfer everything without delay to the new commander, Jacob Borghorst, and either to return to the fatherland or to proceed to Batavia as a free man by the first opportunity. Instructions were laid down in the most positive terms that in future foreign vessels were not to be supplied with the Company's stores, but were to be left to their own resources.

Mr. Borghorst sailed from Texel in the *Hof van Breda*, and after a wearisome passage arrived in Table Bay in the evening of the 16th of June 1668. Next morning he landed, but as it was Sunday he did not produce his commission. On Monday the 18th the council of policy was assembled, and the two burgher councillors were invited to be present. Then the authority of the directors was produced, and without further ceremony Mr. Borghorst assumed the control of affairs.

Of the leading men whom Mr. Wagenaar left in the settlement, few now remained. The secunde Hendrik Lacus had been suspended from office on account of a deficiency in the stores under his charge, and was at this time a prisoner on Robben Island. Cornelis de Cretzer, formerly secretary, was now fiscal. The ensign Smient

was on the point of leaving South Africa for a better situation elsewhere. In November 1666 the reverend Johannes de Voocht left for Batavia, and was succeeded as acting chaplain by the reverend Petrus Wachtendorp. Mr. Wachtendorp died on the 15th of the following February, just before the arrival of the reverend Adriaan de Voocht, who had been appointed by the directors permanent clergyman of the settlement. To the burgher population had been added seven names now well known in and far beyond the colony: Gerrit van der Byl, Theunis van Schalkwyk, Arnoldus Basson, Gysbert Verwey, Wynand Bezuidenhout, Douw Gerbrand Steyn, and Gerrit Victor.

Mr. Van Quaelberg left for Batavia on the 12th of August. He sent a petition to the directors to be reinstated, and on the 21st of May 1670 they resolved that the governor-general and council of India might give him employment again. In time he rose to be governor of Malacca, but was never afterwards connected with South Africa.

Commander Borghorst was in ill health when he landed, and he remained an invalid during the whole period of his stay, so that practically the government was for three-fourths of the time carried on by his subordinates. Of these, the ablest was the fiscal, Cornelis de Cretzer. The secunde, Hendrik Lacus, remained in the settlement, but under suspension of office, until March 1670, when he was at length brought to trial, and though the greater part of the deficiency in his stores was satisfactorily accounted for, he was sentenced to be reduced to the rank of a common soldier and in that capacity to be sent to Batavia. During the long period that he was kept awaiting trial the situation was virtually vacant, except for a few months in 1669, when it was provisionally filled by an officer named Abraham Zeeuw, who was detained from a passing ship. The lieutenant, Abraham Schut, was a man without weight of character, and was even deprived of his seat in the council soon after Mr. Borghorst's

arrival for having slandered the widow of the late acting chaplain. The office of the secretary, Jacob Granaat, gave him little or no authority in the direction of affairs. Upon De Cretzer therefore rested the oversight of nearly everything, but as the times were quiet there was very little to look after beyond the cattle trade and the gardens.

Some of the landmarks which had been set up around Saldanha Bay by order of the viceroy De Montdevergue were still standing. They consisted of the French coat of arms painted on boards attached to posts, and were so frail that one had been destroyed by a rhinoceros and another had been used by a party of Hottentots to make a fire of. The commander lost no time in removing those that were left and causing all traces of the offensive beacons to be obliterated. Where they had stood shields bearing the Company's monogram were placed.

By this time the country along the coast had been thoroughly explored northward to some distance beyond the mouth of the Elephant river, and eastward as far as Mossel Bay. The Berg river had been traced from its source to the sea, and Europeans had been in the Tulbagh basin and the valley of the Breede river. But no white man had yet climbed the formidable wall which skirts the Bokkeveld and the Karoo. No one had sought entrance to the unknown interior through the gorge where now a carriage-drive amid the grand scenery of Michell's Pass leads to pleasant Ceres, or had entered the valley of the Hex river where to-day the railway winds upward from fair and fertile fields to a dreary and desolate wilderness. So, too, the opening known to us as Cogman's Kloof, through which a waggon-road now leads from the valley of the Breede river past the village of Montagu, was still untrodden by the white man's foot.

Beyond the outer line of their own discoveries the maps of the period were yet relied upon with almost as much faith as if they had been compiled from actual

survey. No one doubted the existence of the great river which was laid down in them as forming the western boundary of Monomotapa, or of the towns which were represented as studding its banks.

The bartering parties that went along both coasts no longer kept careful journals as they had done at first, because now there was nothing novel to be noted. Unfortunately, too, they had given Dutch names or nicknames to most of the chiefs of the country explored, so that in many instances it is quite impossible to follow them. A statement, for instance, that fifty sheep had been purchased from Captain Thickhead, gives no clue by which to follow the traders, unless the circumstance under which that name was given to some chief happens to have been mentioned previously. This is less to be regretted, however, as fresh discoveries were still carefully reported.

In August 1668 the yacht *Voerman* was sent to examine the east coast carefully as far as Natal. Corporal Cruse and fifteen men were sent in her, with instructions to land at Mossel Bay and explore the country in that neighbourhood. The *Voerman* got no farther eastward than St. Francis Bay, where she put about on account of springing a leak in a storm. Her officers discovered nothing, but they must have been incompetent or faithless, for there is no part of the South African seaboard more worthy of close attention. They should at least have noticed the grand cleft in the lofty coast line by which the Knysna basin communicates with the sea, and have looked through it upon the charming scenery beyond. Farther eastward they ought to have observed the bight known to us as Plettenberg's Bay, and farther still the forest-clad hills and vales of the Zitzikama.

The party put ashore at Mossel Bay did much better. Corporal Cruse visited for the first time a tribe called the Attaqua, of whom he had heard during his previous journey. He found them very wealthy in cattle, and was able to exchange his merchandise to such advantage that

he returned to the fort with some hundreds of oxen and sheep. The Attaquas occupied the country between Mossel Bay and the present village of George, and had as their eastern neighbours a tribe called the Outeniqua.

Corporal Cruse's success induced the commander to send him back without delay at the head of another trading party. On the way he encountered a company of Bushmen, having in their possession a great herd of cattle which they had stolen from the Hottentots of those parts. This Bushman band appears to have been capable of causing much damage to the pastoral clans between the Breede and the Gourits. The Hottentots called them the ǁobiqua, and in the journals they are spoken of by that name as if it was the title of a clan, though in one place the commander states expressly that they were Sonqua. But the Hottentot word ǁobiqua means simply *the murderers*, which accounts for all that would otherwise be obscure in the records.

Upon the appearance of the Europeans, the Bushmen, having no conception of firearms and believing the little party of strangers to be at their mercy, attempted to seize their merchandise. Cruse tried to conciliate them by offering presents, but in vain. There was then only one course open to him, and that was to resist, which he did effectually. In a few seconds all of the plunderers who were not stretched on the ground were fleeing in wild dismay, leaving their families and cattle in the hands of the incensed Europeans. No harm whatever was done to the women and children, but the corporal took possession of the whole of the cattle as lawful spoil of war, and with them returned to the fort. It was a valuable herd, for there were many breeding cows in it, such as it was hardly ever possible to obtain in barter. This exploit raised the Europeans high in the estimation of the Hessequas and their neighbours. They sent complimentary messages, and expressed their thanks in grateful language for the service rendered by the chastisement of the Bushmen.

There is in the journal of this date a notice of a cruel custom prevalent among the Hottentots. These people, unlike some other African races, did not expose their dead, but buried them in any cavity in the ground that they could find. When the mother of a helpless infant died, the living child was buried with its parent, because no one would be at the trouble of nourishing it, and this was the customary method of ending its existence. Some Dutch women happened one afternoon to observe a party of Hottentots working in the ground, and were attracted by curiosity to the spot. They found that a corpse had been thrust into an excavation made by some wild animal, and that an infant was about to be placed with it. The women were shocked at such barbarity, but they could not prevail upon any of the Hottentots to rescue the child. No one however objected to their taking it themselves, as they seemed so interested in its fate, and with a view of saving its life they carried it home with them.

Among the means adopted by the Netherlands East India Company to attach its officers to the service was a regulation which gave each one liberty to trade to a certain extent on his own account, except in spices, which were strictly excluded from this arrangement. Hardly a skipper left Europe or the Indies without some little venture of his own on board, and even the mates and sailors often took articles of merchandise with them to barter at any port they might put into. The officers on shore had corresponding privileges whenever it was possible to grant them without detriment to the public welfare. The first commander at the Cape, for instance, had a farm of his own, and his immediate successors had also landed properties which they cultivated for their exclusive benefit. But the Company was at this time anxious to encourage the freemen, whose largest gains were derived from the sale of produce to visitors;* so, to prevent rivalry, instruc-

* One of the conditions under which free papers were granted was that the farmers were to be at liberty to sell their produce (but not horned

tions were issued that none of the members of the council of policy were to keep cattle or to cultivate gardens beyond the requirements of their households.

In 1669 a small vessel named the *Grundel* was sent out by the supreme authorities to explore the coasts of Southern Africa. On the way she visited the rocks of Martin Vaz, and searched in vain in their neighbourhood for a fertile island suitable for the establishment of a residency. George Frederick Wreede, the same who visited Martin Vaz in the *Pimpel* in 1665, was on board the *Grundel* on this occasion. It will be remembered that he had been appointed commander of the party occupying Mauritius, but, on account of some of the people there being mutinous, he was unable to carry out his instructions. For this he was held responsible by Commander Van Quaelberg, who not only recalled him, but caused him to be tried by the council of a fleet on a charge of neglect of duty. He was sentenced to be reduced again to the rank of a soldier, with pay at the rate of fifteen shillings a month. But Wreede found means of getting to Europe and of bringing his case before the directors, who annulled this sentence, gave him the rank and pay of a junior merchant, and sent him out again to be head of the establishment at Mauritius.

The *Grundel* arrived in Table Bay some months before the time fixed for the sailing of the Mauritius packet. Letters were shortly afterwards received from the directors with instructions to station a party of men perma-

cattle, sheep, or grain) to the crews of vessels three days after arrival. After Mr. Van Quaelberg's dismissal, captains of foreign vessels were invariably referred to the freemen, under the plea that the Company had nothing to spare. There is at this period no instance of the farmers being debarred from selling vegetables, poultry, eggs, milk, butter, and similar articles, to the crews of any ships, Dutch or foreign, but frequent mention is made of their having disposed of such articles. Grain and cattle were reserved for the Company's own use, and could not be sold without special permission, which was however sometimes granted.

nently at Saldanha Bay, to prevent any other European power taking possession of that port. It was believed that the French had at last resolved to abandon Madagascar, where they had met with nothing but loss, and it was suspected that they had an intention of establishing themselves somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. Wreede was accordingly sent with fourteen men to fix a site for the outpost and to put up the necessary buildings. He was relieved when the Mauritius packet was ready to sail, but a day or two before she was to have left a party of convicts managed to get possession of her. The leader of these convicts was an old mate of a ship, who had been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for insubordination. Under his guidance the *Lepelaar* was captured, and the next that was heard of her was that she had safely reached Pernambuco. A few weeks later a yacht that called was laden with stores for Mauritius, and Wreede sailed to resume the position of commandant of the island. On the 29th of February 1672 he went out in a boat to explore some islets, the boat was overturned in a squall, and he was drowned.

The *Grundel* was sent first to examine the coast to the northward beyond St. Helena Bay, but brought back no information except that the greatest part of the country as far as she sailed along it appeared to be an uninhabited desert. South of the tropic there were no other people than Hottentots. Her skipper wished to change the name of the inlet in latitude 26° 36′ from Angra Pequena to Grundel Bay, but his desire was not gratified.

In the following year she was sent to the eastward, but discovered nothing worthy of note. The farthest point reached was the bay Os Medãos do Ouro, in latitude 26° 40′ S. Here an officer and sixteen men went ashore to examine the country, but never returned, and owing to this disaster the *Grundel* put about and sailed for the Cape.

In 1669 a party of experienced miners and assayers was sent from Europe to search for metals in the neigh-

bourhood of the Cape. They examined Table Valley carefully, and then proceeded to the Paarl mountain and Riebeek's Kasteel. For several years they were busy making excavations over the country, sometimes believing they were in a fair way of finding valuable ores, though always disappointed in the end. In one of their reports the Windberg is called the Duyvelsberg, which is the first instance in the records of that name being used.

The arrival of the commissioner Mattheus van der Broeck early in the year 1670 was an important event in the history of the infant settlement. The commissioner was one of the ablest of the Company's officers, and was then acting as admiral of a richly laden return fleet of fifteen ships. His instructions from the Indian authorities were to rectify anything that he should find amiss at the Cape after due investigation. Upon his arrival, Mr. Van der Broeck handed to Commander Borghorst a list of questions, to which he desired written replies, and he added to the ordinary council of policy five of the chief officers of the fleet to assist in its deliberations.

One of the questions had reference to the growth of corn. Hitherto there had not been sufficient grain raised at the Cape for the consumption of the garrison and the inhabitants, so that it had been necessary to import a quantity of rice yearly. This expense the Company wished to be relieved of. Commander Borghorst proposed to form a large farming establishment at Hottentots-Holland, a part of the country to which he had once paid a visit, and where he believed unusual facilities existed for both agricultural and pastoral pursuits. He suggested also that the freemen should be encouraged by an offer of higher prices for grain than those previously given. His views were adopted by the council, and with the commissioner's sanction it was resolved that the Company's cultivated ground at Rondebosch should be leased by public auction, and the staff of servants there be removed to Hottentots-Holland. The price of wheat was raised to *7s. 5d.* and of

rye to 5*s.* 2½*d.* the hundred pounds or forty-six kilogrammes. A great evil existed, in the commissioner's opinion, in the number of canteens that had been recently established. They were even to be found at Rondebosch and Wynberg, where they were a sore temptation to the farmers to spend their substance in dissipation. On the other hand, each paid for its license, and all provided board and lodging for strangers when ships were in the bay. The commissioner and council reduced the number to nine for the whole settlement, but in addition permitted Jacob Rosendael, who had enlarged the vineyard planted by Mr. Van Riebeek, to sell by retail wine of his own making.

Some samples of Cape wine had been sent to Batavia, but had not been received there with much favour. It was therefore a question what was to be done with the produce of the vineyards. The council decided that each individual could send his wine to Batavia, to be sold there on his own account, upon payment of 12*s.* 6*d.* freight on every half aam, or seventy-two litres, and such duties as the Indian government should impose. This was practically throwing the eastern markets open to Cape wine farmers to make the most they could in. But so far from being viewed as a privilege or a concession by the colonists of those days, it was held by them to be equivalent to a prohibition of wine-making. They wanted a market on the spot, for they were too poor to wait a twelvemonth for the price of their produce. Neither were they a people inclined to run any risk, and therefore their idea of a good market was a market where the price of everything was fixed, where a man could reckon to a stiver what his wine would bring before it left his farm. The freedom of selling in India was thus no inducement to them to increase their vineyards.

In the matter of public works, the council resolved to construct a stone watercourse from the reservoir to the jetty, and to plant twenty-four morgen of ground with trees, half alders for timber and half kreupel bushes for

fuel.* The watercourse was thrown open to tender, and a contract for its construction was entered into by the burgher Wouter Mostert for the sum of £625. It was further resolved that in future all bricks and tiles required by the Company should be purchased from freemen by public tender.

The duties of each member of the government were accurately defined. Cornelis de Cretzer was promoted from fiscal to be secunde, and Jacob Granaat from secretary to be fiscal. In the council of policy, the secunde, Cornelis de Cretzer, the lieutenant, Johannes Coon, the fiscal, Jacob Granaat, and the bookkeeper, Anthonie de Raaf, were to have seats, while liberty was left to the commander to admit one or two other fit persons, if he should deem it necessary to do so.

In the written instructions of the commissioner the Cape authorities were directed to encourage and assist the farmers, not alone on account of the produce of their fields, but because of the assistance to be derived from them in time of war. The freemen then constituted a company of militia eighty-nine strong. Mr. Van der Broeck, in ordering the lease of the Company's farm at Rondebosch, had in view an immediate increase of this number. He directed also that as soon as the Company had made a good start at Hottentots-Holland, that tract of country should likewise be given out to freemen.

During Commander Borghorst's administration licenses were first granted to the burghers to hunt large game wherever they chose. Hippopotami abounded at that time in the Berg river, and parties were frequently fitted out for the purpose of shooting them. The flesh of these animals was brought in large quantities to the settlement, where it was used for food, and the hides were soon

* The plantations were never laid out, however, as upon further consideration the commander came to the conclusion that they would be dangerous in Table Valley on account of the shelter they would afford to ravenous animals.

found to be useful for making whips. During these expeditions the burghers were exposed to the temptation of bartering cattle from the Hottentots, but the government kept a watchful eye upon their flocks and herds, and confiscated every hoof that could not be satisfactorily accounted for.

Owing to the commander's ill-health he had no desire to remain long in South Africa, and only a few months after his arrival the directors sent out instructions that the merchant Jan van Aelmonden, who was expected with the next return fleet, should be detained here as his successor. But that officer was not on board the fleet, and Mr. Borghorst then sent a pressing request for the appointment of some one else to relieve him. The directors selected Pieter Hackius, another of their old servants whose health was completely shattered by long residence in India, and who was then on furlough in Europe. Mr. Hackius and his family sailed from home in the *Sticht van Utrecht* on the 7th of December 1669, and reached Table Bay on the 18th of the following March. The new commander landed a more confirmed invalid even than the officer whom he had come to relieve. But he too, like Mr. Borghorst, hoped that after a short term of service in this country he would be permitted to return to the fatherland to end his days there. On the 25th of March 1670 the government was formally transferred, and a few weeks later Mr. Borghorst embarked in the *Beemster* and returned to Europe.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PIETER HACKIUS, COMMANDER, INSTALLED 25TH MARCH 1670, DIED 30TH NOVEMBER 1671.
THE COUNCIL OF POLICY, 30TH NOVEMBER 1671 TO 25TH MARCH 1672.
ALBERT VAN BREUGEL, SECUNDE, ACTING COMMANDER, FROM 25TH MARCH TO 2ND OCTOBER 1672.

FOR several months after the arrival of Mr. Hackius nothing beyond the ordinary quiet routine of life occurred in the settlement. The commander himself was for some time unable to take an active part in the administration of affairs, and it was not until June that he held his first council meeting. It had become necessary to make greater efforts to destroy the lions and leopards, which were preying upon the flocks and herds in the settlement, and the hyenas, which had even scraped up dead bodies in the churchyard and devoured them. As this was a matter affecting the taxation of the burghers, their councillors were invited to assist in the deliberations. It was resolved that the premiums for the destruction of ravenous animals should be increased, and that in general half the rewards should be paid out of funds raised by the burghers. In the particular case of lions killed between Table Mountain and the Tigerberg the premium was raised to £6 5*s*. for each, two-thirds of which was to be paid by the freemen.

In September the second large fleet fitted out by the French Company put into South African waters on its way to the east. Admiral De la Haye saluted the fort with five guns, and was answered with only one, which

he complained of as an insult to his king. He expected to be able to get here whatever fresh provisions and sea stores he needed, but he was soon undeceived. Commander Hackius made no objection to his purchasing vegetables from the farmers, but informed him that the Company could not furnish him with anything from its own gardens or magazines. The admiral was indignant at receiving such treatment, but at the very time he was asking for supplies he was acting towards the Dutch as enemies.

Six of his ships had put into Saldanha Bay. They found at the place now called the old post a station occupied by a few soldiers under command of Sergeant Hieronymus Cruse. Of this station they took forcible possession, and made prisoners of the soldiers. Some burgher fishermen who were carrying on their ordinary employment in the bay were also seized and made prisoners. The Company's flag was taken down and its beacons were destroyed, the French substituting the flag and arms of their king. The council of policy entered a formal protest against these acts of violence, but they had no force with which to resist, and so they prudently did nothing to provoke the French further. After a short detention, Admiral De la Haye was good enough to release his prisoners, and he sailed without leaving any of his people behind. The French flag was not disturbed for four months. Then the garrison at the Cape was reinforced with three hundred men, and the station at Saldanha Bay was again occupied.

At this period there was less distinction made between black men and white than between professing Christians and heathens. A baptized black, indeed, enjoyed all the rights and privileges of a European, but a heathen could hardly be said to have any rights at all. At the Cape there were a few Mohamedan slaves, natives of the Indian islands, who had been banished to this country as a punishment for crime. The first of this particular class

arrived on the 21st of May 1667, but at an earlier date one or two Asiatic convicts who were not Mohamedans were sent from India. Some of these were sentenced to slavery for a limited number of years, after which they became free, others were condemned for life. The great majority of the slaves were negroes from Madagascar or the mainland of Africa, mostly males, who had been made prisoners in war and had been sold by the chiefs of victorious tribes. Of the children born here of slave mothers only about one-fourth were black, the remainder being half-breeds. The commissioner Isbrand Goske, who visited the settlement in February 1671, considered this circumstance so scandalous and demoralising to the whites that he attempted to legislate against it.

The commissioner had no idea that heathen Africans understood the obligations of marriage or respected fidelity between man and wife. In his opinion, therefore, the slaves could not be married as long as they remained heathens, but he issued instructions that the females should be matched with males of their own class. They were all to be sent to church twice on Sundays, and every evening they were to be assembled for instruction. The sick-comforter was then to recite prayers slowly, which they were to repeat after him. As soon as they should be sufficiently advanced in knowledge and should profess belief in Christianity, they were to be baptized and married. All the children were as heretofore to be sent to school, so that none might grow up heathens. And, lastly, special care was to be taken that no half-breeds were retained in slavery.

For a long time the secunde Cornelis de Cretzer had been the most active member of the Cape government. He was a favourite with the burghers and stood high in the estimation of the superior officers with whom he had come in contact, for he was able, honest, and attentive to his duties. From being a copying clerk he had successively held the offices of secretary to the council, fiscal,

and secunde, and had now the title of merchant and a good prospect of being commander of the settlement at no very distant date.

It was customary for the principal officers of ships in the bay to be invited frequently to dine on shore, and as both Mr. Borghorst and Mr. Hackius were confirmed invalids, the duty of receiving and entertaining guests was sometimes undertaken by Mr. De Cretzer. On the 10th of April 1671 the skipper of an Indiaman and a passenger by the same ship dined at the secunde's house, where they revived an old quarrel between them. De Cretzer endeavoured to pacify them, but the skipper at length became so violent that he assaulted the passenger, and it was necessary to employ force to remove him. He went out of the house, but presently returned using threatening language, when the secunde, giving way to passion, drew his rapier and ran the brawler through the body. It was the act of an instant, but its penalty was life-long.

De Cretzer at once fled from his home and concealed himself somewhere in the settlement. As a matter of form the government cited him to appear before the court of justice and offered rewards for his apprehension, but no one wished to see him brought to trial, and he was never arrested. After a time he left the colony quietly in a homeward bound ship, and returned to Amsterdam. There the case was investigated, and he was pronounced free of blame. The directors then restored him to the position of secunde at the Cape, but the ship in which he took passage was captured at sea by a Moorish corsair, and the last that is known of De Cretzer is that he was sold as a slave in Algiers.

This unfortunate event left the Cape without any man of note to direct affairs. The commander was so feeble that he seldom appeared abroad. Jacob Granaat had gone to Batavia some time before. The three offices of secunde, fiscal, and dispenser of the magazines, had all been

filled by De Cretzer, and there was no one to succeed to any of them. The chief military officer was Lieutenant Coenrad van Breitenbach, who had only been a month in the settlement, and whose experience was confined to matters connected with his own profession. Next to him was Brevet-Lieutenant Johannes Coon, who was little more than a cipher.

The two ablest men at the Cape were both in subordinate situations. One of these, by name Hendrik Crudop, was a young man of good birth and education, who had taken service with the East India Company as a means of pushing his fortune. He had passed through the stages of copying clerk and bookkeeper, and was at this time secretary of the council, with the rank of junior merchant and the address of sieur, but had no voice or vote in the proceedings. The other was Sergeant Hieronymus Cruse, a man with little education, but intelligent, active, and capable of carrying through any business that he undertook. He was the explorer of the day, the man who knew most of the interior of the country and of the Hottentot tribes. But, though his opinions had weight outside the council, and men of lower rank were often admitted in an emergency, he had no voice given to him in the management of affairs. Such being the personnel of the government, it was fortunate that no disturbing element was at this time brought to bear upon the harmony of the settlement.

For ten or a dozen years the authorities of the East India Company had been endeavouring to induce gardeners and small farmers to migrate from Europe to South Africa, but with little success. Now and again they were able to send out to their eastern possessions a few families who were attracted by the glowing tales told of those wondrous isles from which wealth was being poured into the Netherlands. But the Cape had no charms of this kind, for its inhabitants were barbarians and it contributed nothing to commerce. Of all the Dutch dependencies it

was the one that possessed least attraction for emigrants. In October 1670, however, the chamber of Amsterdam was able to announce that it had secured a few families who would be sent in the next fleet, and in the following December another party is spoken of as being about to leave for the Cape and Mauritius.*

The families were dispersed among the ships in such a manner as best to secure their comfortable accommodation. Some vessels had only one spare cabin, and thus took only one family as passengers, others took two or three. Among the new names of burghers at this time are found those of Jan van As, Jacobus van den Berg, Adriaan van Brakel, Jan van Eeden, Albertus Gildenhuyzen, Hans Helm, Matthys Michiels, Jan Mostert,† Jan Lambert Myburgh, Jacob and Dirk van Niekerk,‡ Hermanus Potgieter, Abraham Pyl, Gerrit Romond, Hendrik Verschuur, and François Villion (now Viljoen).**

To the tyranny of the government has usually been ascribed the small number of free immigrants that arrived

* These families numbered in all sixty-one individuals, and at the time they accepted the proposals of the Company were engaged as agriculturists in the county of Meurs, which was not annexed to Prussia until 1707. How they came there, or what led them to wish to emigrate, is not stated in the documents of the time, but all of those among them whose birthplaces are given were Dutch. See Resolutions of the Assembly of Seventeen of 21st May and 28th August 1670.

† The founder of the large Mostert family of the present day. He was a younger brother of Wouter Mostert, who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, and who left no children.

‡ Cornelis van Niekerk, the founder of the large South African family of that name, was probably either a younger brother or a son of one of these. His name is first found in the records of 1691. Neither Jacob nor Dirk van Niekerk left children, unless Cornelis was a son of one of them. All the others named above have numerous descendants either in the male or in the female line scattered over South Africa now.

** Olof Bergh, the founder of the South African family of that name, was at this time a military officer in the Company's service in Capetown. Among the burghers there was one named Jan Botha, who may have been the father of Frederik Botha, the founder of the present widely dispersed family of that name; but this is doubtful.

in South Africa between the years 1652 and 1820. But upon close examination this will be found incorrect. It is true that if we judge by the standard of the present day, and take representation of the people by election and parliamentary institutions into consideration, the government of that period will appear to be an arbitrary despotism. But before the French revolution the nations of Europe judged by a very different standard.

The people of the United Netherlands were in name and reality the freest on the continent of Europe, yet the great majority of them had no direct voice in the government. The municipalities, which were the seats of power, were self-perpetuating corporations. On the part of the masses the idea of good government was light taxation, coupled with the making and administration of laws that agreed with their views and prejudices. They did not care to be at the trouble of assisting to make the laws themselves. That was in their opinion the duty of the authorities as constituted by the customs and traditions of time immemorial. The veto of the citizens consisted in the right of protest, a right which they sometimes exercised in the form of an armed and clamorous body. The requests of burghers made in this manner were not to be disregarded, and hence in a country where prudence is the commonest of virtues, those in authority usually took care to avoid any action which might lead to discontent. Without being a representative government, the government of the United Netherlands existed for the good of the people and by the will of the people. It was their ideal of what a good government ought to be.

The directories of commercial bodies were modelled after this pattern. In the first charter of the East India Company, which was signed at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, the directors of the different chambers were appointed by name, and provision was made for filling any vacancies that might thereafter occur by the states-provincial selecting from a triple number nominated

by the remaining directors. Yet the capital of the Company was subscribed at once, no shareholder imagining that his interests would be safer if he had a direct voice in the management. The charter terminated in 1623, and when it was renewed some fresh clauses were added. By one of these the shareholders were empowered to assist in certain elections, but in no manner resembling the proceedings of a commercial association of the present day. Such then was the ideal of good government, and to sustain this ideal there was the plain fact that the people of the United Netherlands were the most prosperous on the face of the globe.

It was taken for granted that the institutions of the parent country would as far as practicable be transplanted to the colonies. No Netherlander thought then that by going abroad he would lose the rights to which he was born, any more than an Englishman of the present day thinks he forfeits his privileges by residing in a crown colony. Looking back upon those times it is easy to see that the colonial institutions were but shadows of those to which they corresponded in name in Holland, that the power of the colonial authorities was infinitely greater than that of the Dutch town governments, because they had not the fear of an offended and indignant populace always before their eyes. But these simple truths were only discovered after long experience, and could not have been predicted in 1671. Modern colonisation was then in its infancy. The most advanced nations, among which were England and Holland, had as yet no conception of colonies governed as they now are. There was no machinery in their systems either to build up or to regulate distant dependencies, hence all of them created powerful trading companies for the purpose.

The Netherlands East India Company was then the greatest and most powerful trading association in the world, and it was even more than that. It was the owner of vast and wealthy provinces. Yet it was itself

subject and responsible to the states-general, and its administration was watched with a jealous eye by all who were not shareholders in it. There was always a strong party ready to arraign it when guilty of oppression or abuse of power. That in later years it was on many occasions oppressive and often did abuse its power is no less true, but at this time such charges could not fairly be made against it. The dread of its tyranny probably did not prevent a single individual from settling in its dependencies.

The cause of so few Dutch families settling in South Africa at this period was the absence of any necessity for a large number of the people of the Netherlands to leave their homes. A prosperous country, where there is abundance of employment for all, is not a country from which men and women migrate. The people of the Netherlands were attached to their fatherland, there was no sectarian persecution to drive them into exile, and so they did not choose to remove to far-away regions, where the conditions of life were uncertain or unknown. Their territory is small, and though it was thickly populated it could not send forth large bands of colonists without exhausting the parent state. The Cape was but one of its many dependencies, and received its fair share of the few Dutchmen of that period who chose to settle abroad. Foreigners, indeed, could have been obtained, but no nation has ever yet chosen to plant colonies of alien blood. The Dutch went as far in this direction as prudence would permit, by settling in their dependencies as many foreigners as could be absorbed without danger of losing their own language and predilections.

There was little communication between the Europeans and the Hottentots at this time, and that little was not altogether friendly. In December 1670 the branch of the Cochoquas under the chief Gonnema paid a visit to the settlement. Their presence caused quite a panic among the frontier farmers at Wynberg, some of whom abandoned

their houses, which the Hottentots afterwards broke into. Happily they did not remain long in the neighbourhood. In the following year a war broke out between the Cochoquas and the Chainouquas, and the first-named tribe was nearly ruined. While the clans were fighting with each other, two burghers who went into the country to shoot game were surprised by some Bushmen and murdered. An account of this event was brought to the fort by a party of Chainouquas, who asserted that the Obiquas had been instigated by Gonnema to commit the crime. Their statement was believed, but the accusations of their enemies by savages can seldom be received as trustworthy evidence, and there is no other proof of Gonnema's guilt in this matter.

The illness of Commander Hackius at length assumed a form which forbade all hope of recovery. For some months after his arrival he had buoyed himself up with the prospect of a speedy return to the fatherland, but as time wore on this comfort failed him. The spring of 1671 found him bedridden and hardly conscious of what was transpiring about him, and in this condition he lingered until his death on the night of the 30th of November. The funeral took place three days later. It was attended by all the inhabitants of the settlement, but could not be conducted with much pomp owing to the circumstances of the time. The body was laid beneath the floor of the building used as a church, in the ground now enclosed by the castle walls. Another escutcheon was added to those already hanging there, but in the course of a few years grave and escutcheon were alike undistinguishable, and nothing was left to perpetuate the memory of Commander Hackius.

On the morning after his death the council assembled for the purpose of making arrangements to carry on the government. There were present the two military officers, Coenrad van Breitenbach and Johannes Coon, a junior merchant named Daniel Froymanteau, who had been de-

tained from a ship some time before to act as issuer of stores, and the secretary, Hendrik Crudop, to whom a vote in the proceedings was now for the first time given. There was no one in the settlement whose rank would warrant the council in placing the administration of affairs temporarily in his hands. It was therefore arranged that each member of the government should retain the exact position which he held before the late commander's death, and that there should be no other distinction between the councillors than that reports of unusual occurrences were to be made by the officers at the outposts to Lieutenant Van Breitenbach, who was immediately to lay them before his colleagues. The settlement was thus for a few months governed by a board of officers without any local head or chief.

There was at this time throughout the United Netherlands a general feeling of impending danger. Hostilities with France were believed to be inevitable at no distant date, and it was beginning to be suspected that England would not much longer abide by the Triple Alliance. That the conquest and partition of the Free Netherlands had actually been arranged by Charles II and Louis XIV as long before as May 1670 was unknown to the Dutch people. But, though the treaty of Dover was a secret to the intended victims, the unfriendly conduct of the English court gave abundant cause for alarm. With so gloomy an outlook the directors of the East India Company considered it advisable to strengthen the defences of their possessions, and the Cape was one of the points which they resolved to secure more firmly. The castle, the building of which had been for some time suspended, was to be completed according to the original design, the garrison was to be increased, and the administration of affairs was to be confided to a class of men superior to those hitherto employed.

Instructions were received here in February 1672 to utilise all the available force of the settlement in collect-

ing shells, quarrying stone, and conveying these materials to the site of the new fortress. The woodwork for the various buildings connected with the castle was being prepared in Amsterdam, and was sent out as opportunities offered in the fleets that followed. Large quantities of bricks and tiles were also sent out, and in the same ships came skilled mechanics to do the work. The position of the castle is considered so faulty by modern engineers that it is difficult to realise that when it was built it was believed to be almost impregnable. Yet that it was so considered is beyond all question.

A few years after its completion, a constable ventured to express an opinion that if the French were to land and take possession of the slope of the Devil's peak they would be able to shell the garrison out. The governor came to hear of this, and as he considered that if such a belief gained ground among the burgher militia it would cause them to lose confidence, he ordered the constable to be placed in confinement. His Honour, with Lieutenant Cruse and Surveyor Wittebol, then measured the distance carefully, and came to the conclusion that no cannon which could be brought out in a ship and landed here could harm the castle. After a few days the constable's wife went to the governor, and asked that her husband might be set at liberty. Everybody knew, she said, that he was a man who allowed his tongue to run too freely, but just on that account no one paid any attention to what he said, and so there was no harm done. He was a sober and diligent person, and if his Honour would but pardon him this time she would guarantee that he would never again be guilty of talking so foolishly of the Company's stronghold. "He does not get drunk, I will admit," replied the governor, "and he does his duty reasonably well, but this is a serious matter of which he has been guilty. He must be brought before the council." The council decided to be lenient with him, but that he must counteract the mischief which his sedi-

tious language might have occasioned. He was therefore to select the two best cannons at the Cape, which should be conveyed to the place that he had asserted commanded the castle. There he was to load them with full charges, and if he could throw a ball into the fortress he was to be free of fine or punishment. The experiment was carried out, and the castle remained unscathed. The constable was then compelled to proclaim himself a foolish fellow, and was fined three months' wages to cover the expense of removing the cannon.*

The officers selected at this troublous time to conduct the government were Isbrand Goske, Albert van Breugel, and Pieter de Neyn. The first was a man who had filled various responsible situations in the Indies, and had always acquitted himself creditably. He had won distinction in Ceylon and on the coast of Malabar. Twice he had been commissioner at the Cape. It was he who selected the site of the castle, when on his way from Europe to Persia to assume direction of the Company's trade there, and again when returning home in 1671 he was charged with the duty of rectifying anything here that might be amiss. Judged by the standard of the twentieth century his views would be called narrow; in his own day he was held to be not only a good but a wise and liberal man. In rank he was already higher than a commander, and when he was requested to assume the direction of affairs at the Cape the residency was raised to be a government, and he was entitled governor. At the same time he was appointed councillor extraordinary of India. His salary was to be at the rate of £25 a month, or double that of a commander, with a very liberal table allowance, and besides quarters in the fort he was to

*A dozen years later the authorities admitted that their predecessors had been mistaken. In 1685 a commissioner of high standing informed the directors that there was no site in Table Valley upon which a fortress could be built to command the anchorage without being itself commanded by higher ground.

have a pleasure house or country seat with an ornamental garden at Rondebosch, where he could entertain visitors at his ease.

Albert van Breugel, who was appointed secunde, was a man of less experience than Mr. Goske, but was believed to be a staid, upright, and able officer.

Advocate Pieter de Neyn, who was sent out as fiscal, was a good-natured, witty personage, well read in law, and thoroughly competent for his post as far as talent was concerned, but his moral character was not altogether above reproach. A book of poetry which he composed and published after his return to Europe bears the impress of a man of some genius, to whom close thinking was familiar. Many of the verses are characterised by the same peculiarities as the writings of Sterne, but the expressions are coarser. He also prepared a work upon the marriage customs of various nations, which gives proof of extensive reading. The fiscal was the first of the three new officers appointed, and when he arrived at the Cape he experienced some difficulty in getting himself recognised by the grave godfearing councillors who were then ruling the settlement.

During the ten years from the 1st of January 1662 to the 31st of December 1671, three hundred and seventy of the Company's ships put into Table Bay, either on the outward or homeward passage, and all found ample refreshment. In the same period twenty-six French, nine English, and two Danish ships cast anchor here. The only other stranger was a small Portuguese vessel brought in as a prize. There were no wrecks or losses in Table Bay during this period, but on the coast nearly opposite Dassen Island a cutter was run ashore by a drunken skipper in June 1668, when two men were drowned, and in May 1671 another small vessel was wrecked on the Foundlings, when the crew got safely away in the boat.

It was estimated that for the refreshment of the Company's ships three hundred and fifty head of horned cattle

and three thousand seven hundred sheep were required yearly. This was exclusive of the hospital and the people on shore. The average number of men on board each vessel that called in time of peace was about one hundred and eighty, but first-class Indiamen carried from three to four hundred. It needed seventy or eighty hands to set the enormous mainsail of such a ship, for they were ignorant of many of the modern appliances for multiplying power. Shipbuilders were only beginning to learn that by reducing the size of the sails and increasing the number they could do with fewer men. Large crews were needed also for defence in case of attack by pirates, and allowance had to be made for at least one-third of the complement being laid up with scurvy in a passage exceeding four months. Thus, notwithstanding the number of ships appears small, over seven thousand strangers visited the Cape every year, who after consuming fresh provisions for ten or twelve days carried away with them as much as would keep good.

Nearly every year the branch of the Cochoquas under Gonnema paid a visit to the Cape peninsula, where they seldom failed to create trouble by their pilfering propensities. The normal condition of this particular clan was that of a roving band, always at feud with its neighbours, either plundering the Namaquas, or the Chainouquas, or the Kaapmans of their cattle, or itself plundered and reduced to want. They had yet to learn that a European settlement was not to be dealt with in this manner.

At this period the Europeans felt themselves more secure than ever before. There was a garrison of three hundred men in Table Valley. The burghers formed a body of militia one hundred strong, a fair proportion of them mounted on Javanese ponies. The council was in no mood to brook either affront or wrong. The members were plain men, who looked at the question of the mode of dealing with the earlier inhabitants as a very simple one. They had no thought or desire of harming a Hottentot or

of interfering in the slightest manner with the internal government of the clans, but they were determined to punish any one who should molest a European, and to do it in such a manner as to inspire all others with a feeling of terror.

On the first opportunity that offered they put this principle into practice. Five of Gonnema's people were taken redhanded in the act of sheepstealing, three of the number being guilty also of assaulting the herdsmen. They were bound and carried to the fort, where shortly a party of their friends appeared with cattle for their ransom. The council declined to release the prisoners on any terms. Day after day came messengers offering more and more cattle, but always without effect. The five prisoners were brought to trial, and were sentenced all to be soundly flogged, the three most guilty to be branded and to be banished to Robben Island for fifteen years to collect shells for the public benefit in return for their food, the other two to be banished for seven years. The first part of the sentence was strictly carried out, and the latter part would have been so likewise if the convicts had not made their escape from the island in a boat.

On the 23rd of March 1672 the *Macassar* arrived from Texel, having as passenger the secunde Albert van Breugel. The councillors went on board to welcome him and to escort him to the fort, but a strong south-easter springing up suddenly, they were unable to return to land before the 25th. Mr. Van Breugel's commission empowered him to act as commander in case of no one higher in rank in the service being at the Cape, so that he at once assumed the direction of affairs.

On the same day there arrived in a homeward bound ship a commissioner of the Cape residency in the person of Arnout van Overbeke, member of the high court of justice at Batavia and admiral of the return fleet of 1672. The commissioner was received with the ordinary state observed towards officers of his rank. The walls of the

old fort would not admit of the cannon being used too freely, but the ships at anchor lent assistance with their great guns. Amid the roar of their discharges Mr. Van Overbeke landed on the jetty, where the officers of the settlement met him. The troops, with as many of the burgher militia as could be assembled, were drawn up and presented arms as he passed along the lines, and as he entered the fort his flag was hoisted and saluted.

After investigating the affairs of the settlement, the commissioner Van Overbeke thought it would be expedient in order to prevent future disputes to make a formal purchase of the country about the Cape from the Hottentot claimants. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the chief formerly called by his countrymen Osingkima and now Mankagou, to whom the Dutch had given the name Schacher.

When Mr. Van Riebeek arrived in South Africa, Schacher's father, the fat captain Gogosoa, was the principal chief of the three clans, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, and Goringhaikonas, in occupation of the Cape peninsula and the adjacent country. Since that time some changes in the condition of these clans had taken place. The largest of them had been subdivided into several little bands. The permanent residents of the peninsula had increased in number, owing to the facility of obtaining food afforded by the presence of the European settlers. The others had not yet recovered from the loss sustained during the pestilence of 1665. But to them all Schacher's position was the same as his father's had been, so that if any one had a right to barter away the country, that one was he.

The Europeans were ignorant of the fact that these people were the descendants of invaders who at no very remote date had wrested the land they occupied from the aboriginal inhabitants, but had this been known it would have made no practical difference as far as their claim was concerned. They and their ancestors had been there long enough to establish their title, no matter how it had been originally

acquired, against other and later invaders, unless the European adopted the principle of the barbarian, that might was the sole source of right.

The Hottentot chief, when applied to, readily consented to the conditions proposed, for they took nothing from him which he had not already lost. The agreement, which is still preserved in the registry of deeds in Cape-town, contains eight clauses. In the first, the Hottentot prince, as he is called, agrees for himself and his heirs in perpetuity to sell to the honourable East India Company the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout, and Saldanha bays, with all the lands, rivers, and forests therein and pertaining thereto, to be cultivated and possessed without remonstrance from any one. With this understanding, however, that he with his people and cattle shall be free to come anywhere near the outermost farms in the district, where neither the Company nor the freemen require the pasture, and shall not be driven away by force or without cause. In the second, he agrees for himself and his people never to do harm of any kind to the Company or its subjects, and to allow them the rights of transit and trade not only in the ceded district, but in his other possessions. In the third, he promises to repel all other Europeans who may attempt to settle in the district. In the fourth, he engages that he and his descendants for ever shall remain the good friends and neighbours of the Company, and be the enemies of all that seek to do the Company or its subjects harm.

On the other hand, the Company engages in the fifth clause to pay to Prince Schacher goods and merchandise such as he may select to the value of 800. The sixth clause guarantees to him and his people the peaceful possession of his remaining territory, and gives them the right of passage through the Company's ground wherever the exercise of this privilege may not cause damage or annoyance to the Company or its subjects. The seventh secures to Schacher the right of refuge in the Company's

territory in case of his being defeated by his Hottentot enemies, and binds the Company to protect him. It also refers tribal disputes to the decision of the Company, and provides for a present to be made yearly to the protecting power. The last clause is Schacher's acknowledgment that the foregoing having been translated to him he agrees to all, and that he has received the amount stipulated. The document is dated in the fortress of Good Hope on the 19th of April 1672. It is signed on behalf of the Company by Aernout van Overbeke, Albert van Breugel, Coenrad van Breitenbach, and J. Coon, and has upon it the marks of Prince Schacher and 'T Tachou, who is stated to be the person next in authority to the prince. The secretary, Hendrik Crudop, signs as a witness.

The document is drawn up in prècise legal language and it is clear in its statements, but it cannot be held to give the Company any claim to the Cape district not possessed before. The seller had no choice in the matter. If he had declined to agree to it, the result, so far as the Company's retaining possession of the soil, would have been precisely the same. Saldanha Bay is included in the purchase, though the country thereabouts was known to be occupied by the Cochoquas. The price paid is stated to be £800; in a despatch to the directors the value of the goods actually transferred to Schacher is put down at £2 16*s.* 5*d.* It was not, and under the circumstances could not be, an honest open bargain made by two parties who thoroughly comprehended what they were doing and knew the value given and taken.

An agreement identical with that signed by Schacher was concluded on the 3rd of May between Albert van Breugel and Coenrad van Breitenbach on the part of the Company, and the two leading men of the Chainouquas on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw, wherein the district of Hottentots-Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams, and forests, together with False Bay, are

ceded to the Company in return for merchandise amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16*s.* 4*d.*

But though such purchases from ignorant and barbarous chiefs must be regarded as morally indefensible, to the present day they are considered by civilised nations as legally valid, and as giving an unquestionable title to ground so acquired.

At this time experiments were being made in the cultivation of various useful plants from other parts of the world. Sugarcanes and cocoanut trees were brought from Ceylon, and cassava plants were introduced from the west coast of Africa, but these all failed. The olive was still regarded as a tree that would ultimately succeed. Some seasons the fruit fell before it was ripe, in other seasons it was small and of very inferior quality. But the trees looked so well that the gardeners always maintained that they had not yet procured the best kind for bearing, and that if they could only get proper stocks or grafts the plant would to a certainty answer here.

In this year the first brandy was distilled at the Cape. It was made as an experiment to ascertain if the wine of this country could not be turned to some account. The general opinion of the quality of the brandy was, however, even less favourable than of the wine of which it was made.

On the 31st of July intelligence arrived that war had commenced between France and England on one side and the United Provinces on the other. Orders were therefore sent out to take every possible precaution against surprise. The council hereupon made the best arrangements which they could for the defence of the settlement. The establishment on Dassen Island was broken up, and the five hundred sheep which were kept there were removed to the mainland. At Saldanha Bay and Robben Island preparations were made for abandoning the posts upon the first appearance of an enemy, and destroying

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everything that could not be carried off. In case of need the women and children with the cattle were to be sent to Hottentots-Holland. The work at the castle was meantime diligently carried on.

On the 2nd of October Governor Goske arrived in the ship *Zuid Polsbroek*, after a passage of five months from Texel. The *Zuid Polsbroek* had lost eighteen men, and there were sixty down with scurvy when she dropped her anchors. The governor landed at once, and was received by the garrison under arms. As soon as his flag was distinguished on the ship the news was signalled to Rondebosch and Wynberg, so that the burghers were fast assembling on the ground which now forms the parade. To them the governor was presented by the secunde Van Breugel, and was saluted with loud acclamations of welcome, mingled with discharges of firearms from the troops and the roar of cannon from the *Zuid Polsbroek* and the finished point of the new fortress. The governor's commission was then read, and the ceremony of induction was over.

CHAPTER XXX.

ISBRAND GOSKE, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 2ND OCTOBER 1672, RETIRED 14TH MARCH 1676.

AT the time when the Cape settlement was raised temporarily to the dignity of being called a government, the European population consisted of sixty-four burghers, thirty-nine of whom were married, sixty-five children, fifty-three Dutch men-servants, and about three hundred and seventy servants of the Company and soldiers, in all not exceeding six hundred souls. But there are circumstances under which the deeds of six hundred individuals may be of greater importance in an historical retrospect than are ordinarily those of six hundred thousand. These few white men were laying the foundations of a great colony, they were exploring a country as yet very imperfectly known, they were dealing with the first difficulties of meeting a population of barbarians who, though nomads, claimed possession of the soil. Their situation was the most commanding point on the surface of the earth, and they knew its importance then as well as England does now. The Cape castle, wrote the directors, is the frontier fortress of India, an expression which shows the value they attached to it.

At this time the Free Netherlands were engaged in the most unequal struggle that modern Europe has witnessed. The kings of England and France, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster were allied together for the suppression of Batavian liberty. In May 1672 Louis XIV in person with a splendidly equipped army invaded the provinces from the south and within twenty-

eight days no fewer than ninety-two cities and strongholds fell into his hands. To Utrecht, in the very heart of the republic, his march was one continued triumph. The ecclesiastical princes poured their forces into Overyssel, and completely subdued that province. Charles II fitted out a large fleet, but fortunately for English liberties the Dutch were able to hold their own on the sea.

The unhappy country in its darkest hour was distracted by rival factions. The Perpetual Edict, by which the prince of Orange was excluded from supreme power, was the law, but most men felt that the only hope left to the republic was to place the guidance of affairs in his hands. The towns called for the repeal of the edict, the states obeyed, and William of Orange, destined at a later day to wear the crown of England, was appointed stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland and captain and admiral-general of all the provinces. Then followed (20th of August 1672) the murder by a furious mob of the two most eminent men of the Loevestein party, Johan de Witt, pensionary of Holland, and his brother Cornelis de Witt, burgomaster of Dordrecht.

Of the seven provinces three were at this time entirely occupied by the enemy, but internal discord was at an end. One clear head guided the forces of the country, and hope began to take the place of despair. The sluices were opened, and the dykes were cut. The whole of the low lands in South Holland were laid under water. An army sprang into existence, an army indeed of boors and artisans, but animated by intense patriotism and capable of meeting any dangers and any fatigues. In the harbours of Zeeland and North Holland a great fleet was got together, ready in the last extremity to convey two hundred thousand free people to the islands of the East, to form a new Batavian republic there.

In the face of such opposition the allies were compelled to pause. Then a change in the situation took place. A combination of great European powers was formed against

France. The English government, which had entered into the war and carried it on against the wishes and interests of the people, was obliged to make peace (February 1674). Six months later the Dutch had recovered all their territory except the towns of Maestricht and Graave, their fleet was keeping the coast of France in continual alarm, and the prince of Orange with seventy thousand men, half of them Germans and Spaniards, was preparing to attack the prince of Condé at Charleroi.

The effect of the troubles of the mother country upon the Cape settlement was felt for many years. The number of ships that called fell off very considerably, for even after the recovery of their territory by the Dutch, it took a long time to establish again their European trade. In the East the Company suffered no reverses of importance, but its commerce was crippled by the necessity of maintaining a large fleet on a war footing. The high admiral there was the elder Ryklof van Goens, subsequently governor-general of Netherlands India, and associated both before and after this date with Cape affairs. Under him, commanding a division of the fleet, was Cornelis van Quaelberg, once commander of the Cape settlement. The best contested battle fought in Indian waters during the war was between Van Quaelberg's division of the fleet and a squadron of ten English ships that met off Masulipatam. The English were outnumbered, but they fought bravely, and it was not until one of their ships went down and two others were surrounded and reduced to wrecks that the remaining seven made sail for the Hooghly.

The first and most important object that Governor Goske had to attend to was to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked, and for this purpose he had authority to land from passing ships as many men as could be spared and he might require. But the troubles in Europe caused a falling-off in the number of ships sent out, and further made it so difficult to obtain soldiers and seamen that for some years hardly a

vessel sailed with her full complement of hands. Urgent, therefore, as was the necessity for completing the castle, it was not possible at any time to employ more than two hundred and fifty to three hundred men upon it. What the Free Netherlands did in those days cannot be compared with what the present mother country is capable of doing. But, if measured by their resources, and especially by the number of their inhabitants, the efforts which they put forth are worthy of the warmest admiration of all liberty-loving people.

The governor resolved as a temporary measure to repair the old fort, the earthen walls of which had by this time so crumbled away that he described it as being like a ruined molehill. It was hastily built up again, and then every man that could be spared from ordinary duty was set to work upon the castle.

Nearly three years had elapsed since the commissioner Van der Broeck authorised the Cape government to form a farming establishment at Hottentots-Holland, but, owing to the illness of Commander Hackius and the absence of any one of high authority after his death, nothing had yet been done in the matter beyond surveying the ground. Now, however, besides the original object in view there was a special reason for forming an outpost in the country, as a place was needed to which the cattle could be sent, and upon which the garrison could fall back if compelled to abandon the Cape. On the 18th of October 1672 Sergeant Cruythof and twelve men left to put up the necessary buildings, and thus the first step was taken to extend the settlement towards the interior.

The description of Hottentots-Holland which was sent to the Netherlands for the information of the directors would seem at the present day to be too highly coloured if we did not know that within the period which has since elapsed the face of the country has undergone a change. Western valleys were then covered with long rich grass, just as Kaffraria is now. Every summer a

party of men used to be sent out with scythes to the Tigerberg, and thirty or forty waggon loads of hay were brought back to the Company's stables as forage for the horses. The recesses in the mountain sides facing the sea contained patches of evergreen forest, in which were found great varieties of useful timber.

The grass at Hottentots-Holland and the forests in the immediate neighbourhood were mentioned as being superior to those of any other part of the country yet visited. The soil was described as rich, and the south-east wind, that scourge of the husbandman in Table Valley, was far less violent there. It was a bountifully watered land, its streams were stocked with fish, and on its pastures at certain seasons browsed elands and harte-beests and other game. It was easy of access by sea. A cutter could run up to the head of False Bay, where without any difficulty produce could be shipped, and thus the journey through the heavy sand of the Cape flats be avoided. It seems to have been almost a natural law in South Africa that all the advantages of a locality should be seen at first, and its defects only become known gradually afterwards.

With a view of crippling the English East India Company, orders were at this time received from Holland to fit out an expedition to attack and endeavour to destroy its victualling station at St. Helena. For this purpose the ships *Vryheid*, *Zuid Polsbroek*, *Cattenburgh*, and *Vliegende Swaan* were made ready at the Cape, and a hundred and eighty soldiers and a hundred and fifty sailors above their ordinary crews were embarked in them. The expedition was placed under the direction of Jacob de Geus, skipper of the *Vryheid*, and subject to his general orders Lieutenant Coenrad van Breitenbach had command of the land forces.

The little fleet sailed from Table Bay on the 13th of December 1672, and arrived at St. Helena on the 29th, but was unable to reach the usual anchorage off Chapel

Valley. Commander De Geus therefore anchored at a place which is described in his report as off Apple Valley, two or three leagues from the spot where two English ships were lying. During the night of the 10th of January 1673 the Dutch forces landed and scrambled up a precipice, as they termed it, no opposition being offered. In the morning they set out for Chapel Valley, and without any difficulty drove back some small patrols that were met on the way. In the report there is no reference to killed or wounded on either side, except an expression at its close that almost without any bloodshed whatever the island was taken.

On the 12th of January Commander De Geus appeared in the rear of the English fort, when the garrison and colonists, who were too few in number to attempt to defend it, embarked in a ship and set sail, after spiking their guns and destroying everything that could not be carried away. On taking possession, the Dutch found on the island only one woman, a negro slave, and five sick men. A slave ship from Madagascar bound to Barbados, with two hundred and forty negroes on board, which had put in for refreshment, was also abandoned, and was seized by the Dutch.

Commander De Geus caused the spiked cannon to be drilled, landed some munitions of war and provisions, and then returned to the Cape, leaving a hundred soldiers under Lieutenant Jan Coon in occupation. A few weeks later intelligence reached the Cape that Lieutenant Coon and the only other commissioned officer had died, and that a man with no higher rank than sergeant was in command of the garrison. Governor Goske and the council then directed Lieutenant Coenrad van Breitenbach to proceed to the island with the first opportunity, and assume direction of affairs there.

The ship in which the English residents of St. Helena made their escape sailed towards the coast of Brazil, where she fell in with a squadron under command of

Commodore Richard Munden, who had been directed to meet and convoy the homeward bound East India fleet. Commodore Munden resolved to retake the island, and with that object he made his way there and early in the morning of the 15th of May 1673 landed two hundred men under Captain Kedgwin without notice on the eastern coast. Then, proceeding with his ships round to the northern side, he appeared before the fort at the entrance of Chapel Valley, where Jamestown was afterwards built, just as Captain Kedgwin reached it behind. The Dutch garrison, taken by surprise, immediately surrendered.

Lieutenant Van Breitenbach sailed from the Cape in the ship *Europa*, and reached St. Helena on the 21st of May. The *Europa* ran round a point which concealed the anchorage, and came unexpectedly within range of the guns of Commodore Munden's war ships, when after a futile attempt to escape and afterwards to resist a frigate that chased her, she became a prize to the *Assistance*. Lieutenant Van Breitenbach and the garrison were taken to England as prisoners of war, and were there exchanged for some Englishmen detained in the Netherlands. The lieutenant subsequently committed a military offence for which he was cashiered, and he then went out to India as a free colonist, calling at the Cape on the way. Just at that time the Company was at war with some of the native powers, and Van Breitenbach, who carried with him excellent recommendations from Governor Goske, was requested to return into the service, where he soon regained his former rank.

For a considerable time no trading expeditions had been sent out, because the directors thought the Hottentots would bring cattle to the Cape for sale if they could not obtain tobacco, copper, and beads at their own kraals. But in this expectation they were disappointed. The rich clans living at a distance were unable to come, owing to the constant feuds in which they were engaged with others nearer at hand. Those in the neighbourhood of the Cape

occasionally brought a lean cow or a few sheep for sale, but they had become impoverished through being plundered, and could not supply as many as were needed. It was therefore determined to send a trading party of twelve men to the kraal of the Chainouqua captain Dorha, who had intimated a wish to obtain some tobacco and copper in exchange for cattle.

This Captain Dorha, or Klaas as he was called by the Europeans, who now appears for the first time, was for many years to come intimately connected with the colony, and regarded as its most faithful ally. The tribal government of the Hottentots was so weak that the slightest cause seems to have been sufficient to break them up into little clans virtually independent of each other. This was the case at least with all those who came into contact with the white people. There was still in name a chief of the Chainouquas, but in fact that tribe was now divided into two clans under the captains Klaas and Koopman. Each of these was recognised as a ruler by the Cape government, in proof of which staffs with brass heads, upon which the Company's monogram was engraved, had been presented to them, just as such symbols had previously been given to six or eight captains nearer the settlement. These staffs soon came to be regarded by the Hottentots not only as recognising, but as conferring authority, and thenceforth it became an object of ambition with every head of a few families to obtain one.

Klaas attached himself to the Europeans, but not from any inclination to acquire civilised habits, for he remained a barbarian till his death. Successive governors, indeed, maintained that he was a model of virtue and fidelity, but the proofs they give are far from conclusive. As an instance, he once brought a little Hottentot boy captured in war, whom he offered as a present to the governor to be a slave. Hereupon the governor described him as having the merciful heart of a Christian, inasmuch as he spared the life of an enemy.

Whatever his object may have been, he proved a firm supporter of the European government, always ready to take part with it against his own countrymen. On this occasion he bartered away two hundred and fifty-six head of horned cattle and three hundred and seventy sheep, a very seasonable supply for the governor, whose slaughter stock was nearly exhausted. Klaas was then requested to furnish fifty young oxen to draw stone to the castle, and in less than a fortnight he collected them among his people and sent a message that they were ready. Such conduct on his part naturally called for a return of favours. The Chainouquas and the Cochoquas were at this time at war, and whenever Klaas wished to visit the Cape an escort was sent to Hottentots-Holland to protect him on the journey. Presents were frequently sent to him with complimentary messages, and he was provided with a showy suit of European clothing, that he might appear at the fort with such dignity as became a faithful ally of the honourable Company. The attention paid to him may partly explain the hostile conduct of Gonnema, chief of the largest division of the Cochoquas.

Gonnema, who was known to the first settlers as the black captain, usually had his kraals in the neighbourhood of Riebeek's Kasteel and Twenty-four Rivers, but occasionally he wandered to the shores of Saldanha Bay, or eastward to Hottentots-Holland. All his neighbours were in dread of him, for whenever there was an opportunity he was in the habit of plundering them. It was from him that the whole of the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape were fifty years later called Gunjemans by the Dutch. The people of his own clan were even at this time called Gonnemas, and the word gradually became Gonnemans, Gonjemans, and Gunjemans. And as the Goringhaiquas and others soon lost their distinguishing tribal titles, they all became blended together under this one name, by which alone Europeans knew them. Among themselves the old names were preserved, but

when speaking to white men they employed the word in common use. In precisely the same manner various bodies of Africans have lost the titles of their clans and acquired more general ones from some corrupted name, down to our own day.

In November 1672 the burghers Gerrit Cloete and Ockert and Hendrik Olivier obtained permission from the governor to shoot hippopotami, and for this purpose they travelled along the banks of the Berg river down to Riebeek's Kasteel. There Gonnema with forty or fifty of his followers came upon them and seized their waggon, oxen, provisions, and whatever else they had with them, barely permitting them to escape with their lives. It does not seem to have occurred to the governor that Gonnema might object to the destruction of game in his district, and so the act was attributed solely to his enmity to the Company. But there was then no force that could be spared to chastise the offender, and the injury was therefore left unpunished.

In January 1673 the five Cochoquas who had been detained on Robben Island made their escape, and as among them were some men of rank in the tribe, it may be assumed that the feeling of hostility towards the Europeans was increased. Five months afterwards eight burghers and a slave went out with the governor's permission to shoot large game. They had two waggons with them, which it was their intention to load with skins and dried meat for the sustenance of their families and for sale. Finding no antelopes this side of the Berg river, they crossed at a ford near Riebeek's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's people, who detained them for several days and then murdered them all.

On the 11th of July a rumour reached the fort that the burghers were hemmed in, and the council immediately resolved to send out a relief expedition. The freemen

were called upon to furnish a contingent of thirty-six men, who, with a like number of soldiers, were placed under command of Ensign Hieronymus Cruse. Next morning the expedition left the fort, provisioned for eight days, and with orders that if they should find violence had been used towards the burghers they were to retaliate upon Gonnema and his people in such a manner that their descendants would be too terrified ever to offend Netherlanders again. At Captain Kuiper's kraal across the Cape flats they found one of Gonnema's people, whom they compelled under threat of death to act as guide. Passing by Paardeberg and Riebeek's Kasteel they reached the Berg river, which they found too deep to be forded, so that they were detained until a raft could be made. They were resting on the other side when they were joined by a party of eighteen horsemen from the fort, under command of the burgher officer Elbert Diemer.

These brought word that on the 6th of July some of Gonnema's people under the petty captain Kees appeared at the Company's post at Saldanha Bay, with the apparent object of selling sheep. The post was occupied at the time by only a corporal and two soldiers, but there was a fishing boat belonging to a freeman afloat close by, and two of her crew were on shore. Suddenly and without any warning the Hottentots rose upon the Europeans and murdered four of them, only one soldier managing to escape to the boat. The Hottentots then plundered the post. The boat sailed for Table Bay, but owing to contrary winds was detained at Jutten and Dassen islands, and did not reach her destination until the 14th. Upon receipt of this intelligence the council at once despatched the horsemen to Ensign Cruse's assistance, and they brought instructions to attack Gonnema's people and endeavour to punish them severely, sparing none of the men. The combined forces marched across the district of Twenty-four Rivers, and on the 18th saw smoke rising at a distance among the mountains. They then halted and

sent out scouts, who returned in the evening with information that they had discovered the position of a kraal and had observed a number of women digging bulbs. Next morning before daylight Ensign Cruse marched upon the kraal in hope of surprising its inmates, but upon reaching it he found that they had fled with their cattle. The huts were standing and the fires were still alight, showing that the place had not been long abandoned. In the huts were found the cooking utensils, clothing, and other property of the murdered burghers.

At daybreak the horsemen followed the fugitives and soon overtook them, when the Hottentots abandoned their cattle and fled into the mountains with their women and children. The cattle were then taken possession of, and without any further attempt to reach the enemy the expedition commenced its homeward march. But they had not proceeded far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them. At their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle, and though it failed the enemy kept hovering about for some time. The casualties during the march were one burgher wounded and two horses killed, while ten or twelve Hottentots were shot. The expedition reached the fort again on the 25th, and delivered to the governor eight hundred head of horned cattle and nine hundred sheep.

Captains Klaas, Schacher, and Kuiper now tendered their services against Gonnema, Klaas especially being delighted at the prospect of his enemy's ruin. The others commenced scouring the country in search of stragglers. On the 20th of August, Schacher and Kuiper with more than a hundred of their people appeared again at the fort, bringing with them four of Gonnema's followers whom they had captured. They delivered these prisoners to the governor, who at once caused them to be tried by a committee of the council acting as a court martial. They were found guilty of participation in the murder of the burghers, and were thereupon delivered to their

captors to be put to death after their own manner of execution.

The scene that followed, as described in the documents of the time, is highly illustrative of savage life. On the open ground in front of the fort the Goringhaiqua and Gorachouqua warriors assembled, each with a clubbed stick in his hand. Then they commenced a war dance, in which they leaped into the air and sprang about, chanting and stamping, until they had worked themselves into a state of frenzy. Then one would spring forward and deal a blow with his stick upon a wretched captive lying bound and helpless, at which there would rise a general yell of exultation. Another would follow, and another, until at length the mangled corpses were dragged from the place of execution, and amid a deafening din of shouting and yelling and stamping were cast into the sea. After this barbarous scene the governor caused a quantity of arrack and tobacco to be distributed among the warriors, as a reward for their fidelity.

For several months after this event nothing was heard of Gonnema or of his people, and no effort was made to search for them, as a strange disease broke out among the allies of the Europeans, especially among the followers of Captain Klaas. What this disease was is not stated, but it is certain that it was not small-pox. Though its ravages were not very great, for a short time it kept the Hottentots from moving, as they considered it a bad omen. Governor Goske, in recording this circumstance, adds that before coming into contact with Europeans the Hottentots were not subject to any particular fatal maladies. Many of them attained a very great age. War and occasional famine kept their numbers down, the last killing outright, but not producing pestilence as it does with Europeans. In recent times the same peculiarity has been observed with the Bantu. There have been periods of famine, in which great numbers have perished, but those who survived, though reduced to mere skeletons, suffered

from nothing else than weakness. As soon, however, as they come into contact with white men, and particularly when they begin to change their food and habits of living, they become subject to diseases from which they were before exempt.

On the 24th of March 1674 Klaas paid a visit to the governor, and reported that the sickness had left his people. He had sent out spies who brought back information that many of Gonnema's followers were encamped at the Little Berg river, where it issues from the gorge in the mountains now called the Tulbagh kloof. It was immediately resolved to send an expedition against them, for which purpose a combined force of soldiers, burghers, and Hottentots was made ready. There were fifty burghers under command of Wouter Mostert, four hundred Hottentots under the captains Klaas, Koopman, Schacher, and Kuiper, and fifty soldiers under Ensign Cruse, who was also commandant-general of the expedition. The party marched along the line now traversed by the railway, passing round Klapmuts, down the Paarl valley, and following the base of the mountains to Vogel Vlei. There they rested for a few hours, and planned their next march so as to surround Gonnema's encampment before daylight.

But, as on a former occasion, the people who were to be attacked managed to make their escape just in time to avoid the onslaught. They left all they possessed behind them, and the commando seized without resistance eight hundred head of horned cattle and four thousand sheep. The Hottentot contingent stripped the huts of everything that could be of use to them, and then set fire to what remained. Upon arriving at the fort, the spoil was divided among the members of the commando. The burghers received three hundred cows and ninety young cattle. Each of the four Hottentot captains received a fair share of horned cattle and three hundred sheep in full possession, and a loan of three hundred sheep, to be returned when

required. The honourable Company kept the remainder, or nearly half of the whole spoil.

The same thing happened when the Hottentots were driving away their share of the cattle that usually occurs with Bantu allies on such occasions. The best of those dealt out to the burghers and reserved for the Company were whistled away, and if the governor had not taken summary proceedings to recover them, the Europeans' share of the spoil would have been very trifling indeed.

Gonnema now adopted a plan which greatly incommoded the Europeans. He retired to the strongholds of the first mountain range, and by keeping scouts moving up and down he completely cut off the trade in cattle with the Hottentots beyond. The clans that were in alliance with the white people were unable to supply as many slaughter oxen and sheep as were needed, so that in a few months the scarcity of meat began to be severely felt. The settlement was in a state of blockade, and one of the principal objects of its formation was being frustrated.

Neither side made any further movement until November 1675, when Gonnema one night surprised the kraals of Schacher and Kuiper at the Tigerberg, and succeeded in killing several of the inmates and driving off most of their cattle. As soon as this was reported at the castle a strong party of mounted men was sent in pursuit, but the Cochoqua chief retreated with his booty so hastily to the mountains that only fifteen of his followers who were lagging behind were captured. These were instantly put to death by Schacher's people. After this occurrence the blockade continued as before, and no method either of subduing the enemy or of restoring peace could be devised.

Meantime the farm work at Hottentots-Holland was pushed on, and a guard of twenty-two men was kept there to protect the establishment. There was no other outpost to care for, except the one on Robben Island,

where a boat was always in readiness to bring the people away in case of an enemy appearing. On the Lion's head a good look-out was kept, so as to give due notice whenever a ship approached. Every man that could be spared from other occupations was at work upon the castle walls, or transporting building material to them.

In the year 1673 two wrecks occurred upon the southern coast. On the 20th of February the *Grundel* was lost a little to the eastward of Cape Hangklip. She had been sent from Batavia to Mauritius with supplies, but her skipper was unable to find that island, and so endeavoured to reach Table Bay. All of her hands got safely ashore and were taken on board a little vessel which happened to be at anchor in False Bay. On the 23rd of September the homeward bound ship *Zoetendal* was lost a short distance to the north-eastward of Cape Agulhas. Four of her crew were drowned, the remainder made their way to Hottentots-Holland, and thence to the Cape. The name of the ship is still preserved in Zoetendal's Vlei, close to the scene of the wreck.

At this time was introduced a system of raising revenue by means of farming out certain privileges, a system which remained in force as long as the East India Company was the governing power in the Cape Colony. In principle it was precisely the same as the lease by public auction to the highest bidder of the exclusive right to gather guano on an island, or of the right to a toll, such as is practised at the present day. But by the East India Company the system was carried to such an extreme length that every branch of business that could be conducted in the colony was conducted as a monopoly. It was the simplest plan to raise a revenue that could be adopted, which is all that can be said in its favour. That it was not intolerable to the colonists was owing entirely to there being a maximum price fixed by law for everything sold. The purchaser of a monopoly for dealing in salt, for instance, could have oppressed the people

if he had been at liberty to make what charges he chose, but as he was bound to sell at a fixed price he had no power to practise extortion. The colonists did not object to the system, which seemed to them fair and reasonable. It was introduced by the disposal of the privilege of selling spirituous liquors, the price at which all such liquors were to be purchased for cash at the Company's stores as well as the price at which they were to be retailed being fixed in the conditions under which the monopoly was put up at public auction. In course of time the exclusive right to sell wine, beer, tobacco, salt, bread, meat, and other articles, was farmed out in the same manner.

By the beginning of the winter of 1674 the castle was so far advanced as to be considered more capable of defence than the old earthen fort. The garrison was therefore moved into it, and the walls of the old fort were broken down. On the 13th of July a despatch vessel, gaily decorated with flags, sailed into Table Bay, bringing intelligence that peace had been concluded with England. The French naval power hardly gave the Company a thought, so there was no longer any necessity for extraordinary exertions to complete the castle. From this date, therefore, the work was carried on regularly, but was not considered of such urgent importance as to require a large staff of men to be kept here purposely for it.

On the 29th of July of this year died Eva, the Hottentot girl who had been brought up in Mr. Van Riebeek's household, and who was afterwards married to the surgeon Van Meerhof. In her, as one reads the records, may be traced the characteristics of her race down to our own times. In childhood she was apt to learn, readily acquired the Dutch and Portuguese languages, adopted European customs, professed a belief in Christianity, and gave promise of a life of usefulness. But no sooner was she free from control than she showed an utter absence of

stability, a want of self-respect and self-reliance, which left her exposed to every temptation.

After Van Meerhof's death she remained some time upon Robben Island, and then requested to be brought over to Table Valley. Here her manner of living attracted the attention of the officers of government, and after repeated warnings she was brought to account. She had been guilty of drunkenness and other misconduct, had more than once gone to live at a Hottentot kraal and while there had fallen into filthy practices, and had neglected her helpless children. For these offences she was sent back to the island, and her children were placed under the care of the deacons. But there was no desire to be harsh with her, and upon a promise of reformation she was again permitted to reside in Table Valley. Then the same thing happened as before, and so it continued, removal to Robben Island alternating with short periods of scandalous conduct in Table Valley, during the remainder of her life.

The conclusion which Governor Goske arrived at from a review of her career was that the hereditary disposition of the Hottentots was too unstable to admit of their adoption of civilisation otherwise than very slowly and gradually. As Eva was the first baptized Hottentot, the governor decided that she should have an honourable funeral, and the day following her death she was buried within the church in the castle.

Three years after this date a burgher who had been a personal friend of Van Meerhof, when removing with his family to Mauritius, requested of the council that he might be allowed to take two of the children with him as apprentices. This was agreed to by the council and by the church authorities, at whose expense the children were being maintained. Formal contracts were entered into by which the burgher bound himself to educate them and bring them up in a proper manner, and in which they were placed under the protection of the commander

of Mauritius. The boy when grown up returned to the Cape, but fell into wild habits and died at an early age. One of the girls subsequently became the wife of a well-to-do Cape farmer. The fate of the others is not mentioned in the records.

The duty of supporting destitute orphan children devolved, as has been seen, upon the deacons. There was a fund at their disposal for the purpose of relieving the poor of the congregation, out of which all such charges were paid. This fund was raised partly by church collections, partly by certain fines and fees, and was often augmented by donations and bequests. The first person who bequeathed money for this purpose to the Cape congregation was Commander Wagenaar, but since his death other contributions had been received in the same manner. In the year 1674 the capital of this fund amounted to rather more than a thousand pounds sterling, which was invested as loans on mortgage of landed property, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum. The collections were more than sufficient to meet the current expenses, so that the fund was constantly increasing.*

For the protection of the rights of children of another class, an orphan chamber was at this time established. The necessity for such an institution was apparent from the fact that recently several widows had remarried without previously securing to the children their legitimate portion of the property of the deceased parent. It was enacted that in future no marriage of a widower or widow, whether a servant of the Company or a burgher, could take place in the colony without a certificate being first obtained from the orphan chamber that the rights of the children by the previous marriage were secured. The chamber was empowered to invest money belonging to orphans, and to collect interest therefor at the rate of six per cent per annum. It was constituted guardian of orphans in all cases where none were named by the will

* In 1679 it was equal to £1,535, and in 1684 to £1,824.

of the deceased parent, and was authorised to provide for the maintenance of minors under its care by a reasonable allowance from the property belonging to them.

The orphan chamber thus created consisted of a president appointed by the governor in council and four members, two of whom were servants of the Company and two burghers. It was provided with a secretary, who received payment for his services. The first president was Hendrik Crudop, the first secretary Jan Pretorius, formerly secunde at Mauritius and now a burgher at the Cape. Every year one servant of the Company and one burgher retired, and were succeeded by two new members chosen by the council of policy from a list of four names presented by the chamber itself. It was thus to some extent a self-perpetuating corporation. The large sums of money which the orphan chamber had charge of were commonly invested on mortgage of landed property, so that it served the purpose of a loan bank.*

* In the report of the president and members of the board of orphan masters prepared in 1824 for the commissioners of inquiry sent from England it is stated that the chamber was created in 1691. As authority for this statement, reference is made to their oldest ledger then in existence, which was commenced in that year. They report, however, that the book opens with the accounts of twenty-seven wards whose inheritances were of an earlier date; but it does not seem to have occurred to them that a new set of books began then to be used, to which previous ledger accounts were transferred. They enter into a series of speculations—all wide of the mark—as to how these accounts could have arisen, and never once thought of referring to the resolutions and debates of the council of policy for a correct explanation. But theirs is by far the best of all the reports supplied to the commissioners by local boards. Conjecture everywhere took the place of that long and diligent research in the ancient records of the colony which alone could have supplied accurate information. In 1834 the duties of the orphan chamber were transferred to the master of the supreme court, and the records of the institution are now in charge of that officer. They are of considerable value for historical purposes. After 1699 the board consisted of six members, including the president, who was always a government official, and the vice-president, who was always a burgher. It continued to be perpetuated as described above. From that date onward its instructions were carried out by a secretary, a clerk, and a messenger. Since 1711 it has been required by law that all wills should be registered in this office before being acted upon, and since 1746 testament-

Some regulations regarding church matters which were made in December 1674 show how complete was the control exercised by the council of policy. The church council submitted two names for the election of an elder in place of the one retiring, but objections were taken to both, and fresh nominations were called for. The church council was informed that one of the elders should be a servant of the Company and the other a burgher, and that the officer who held the position of political commissioner should not be nominated as an elder.

Another question which was referred to the council of policy for decision had reference to baptism. Some Roman catholics had settled in the colony, and though they were at liberty in their own houses to worship God in the manner approved by their consciences, they could not assemble together for public worship nor have the services of their church performed by any clergyman who might chance to call in a foreign ship. Under these circumstances, one of them requested permission of the consistory to have his children baptized in the Reformed church, and offered sponsors who were also Roman catholics. Hereupon the church council expressed its opinion that the children should be baptized if other sponsors were not forthcoming, but that the parents ought first to be admonished to endeavour to procure sponsors of the true reformed faith. Before taking action, however, they submitted this opinion to the council of policy for approval. The council of policy referred them to the instructions concerning baptism which had been received from Batavia in the time of Commander Wagenaar, which accorded with the view they had taken, and informed them that the customs of India were to be observed in every respect.

At this time the reverend Rudolphus Meerland was clergyman of the Cape, having succeeded the reverend

ary executors have also been required to register inventories of the estates under their administration.

Adriaan de Voocht on the 12th of February 1674, when the last named left for Batavia.

The return fleet which put into Table Bay early in the year 1676 was under command of Nicolaas Verburg, who occupied a position in the Company's service next only to the governor-general of the Indies, and who, upon his arrival, produced a commission from the Indian authorities empowering him to examine into and arrange the affairs of the Cape settlement. Mr. Goske had stipulated when he accepted the appointment of governor that no one should act as commissioner here during his stay, but he cordially assented to an inspection of the various departments of the public service and to the issue of instructions for the guidance of his successor. The visit of this commissioner had little effect upon the settlement one way or other, but a petition which was presented to him in the name of the whole body of freemen by the burgher councillors, who had been increased in 1675 to three in number, is deserving of mention, as showing their view of the laws and regulations under which they were living.

In this petition the burghers enumerated their grievances and asked for redress. Their first request was that some cattle which had been taken from Gonnema and lent to them might be given to them in full possession. Next that they might be allowed to sell wine, grain, and fruit to any one at the best price which they could obtain, upon payment of such taxes as might be considered proper. That they might be allowed the same rights of trade in merchandise as the freemen enjoyed in Batavia. That those among them who had no ground might have freehold farms assigned to them at Hottentots-Holland, and might be supplied with cattle on lease. And, lastly, that for the comfort of those who were poor, rice should be sold out of the Company's stores at reduced rates.

These requests were forwarded to the directors for consideration, as Commissioner Verburg did not choose

to incur the responsibility of deciding upon them. In course of time the first request was fully acceded to, the second, third, and fourth were partly granted, and the fifth was refused. The Company, it was asserted, intended to discontinue the importation of rice as soon as possible, and to reduce its cost would discourage the cultivation of wheat and thus frustrate one of the most important objects kept in view.

During the last three years the officers at the head of the several departments had been entirely replaced. The secunde Albert van Breugel had been charged by the governor with inattention to his duties, and though upon investigation of the matter the Batavian authorities acquitted him of carelessness, he was removed from the post. Hendrik Crudop, now advanced to the rank of merchant, was appointed secunde in his stead. The fiscal De Neyn had gone to Batavia in October 1674. The explorer Hieronymus Cruse had climbed the ladder of promotion in the army, and was now a lieutenant. The council of policy consisted of the governor, the secunde Hendrik Crudop, the captain Dirk Smient, the lieutenant Hieronymus Cruse, the treasurer Anthonie de Vogel, and the chief salesman Marthinus van Banchem, the last named being also the secretary.

In 1671, when the Company was making preparations for the defence of its Indian possessions, the island of Mauritius was raised from being a dependency of the Cape to a separate seat of government, and Mr. Hubert Hugo, an officer of some note, was appointed commander. But after the conclusion of peace with England the island was reduced again to its old position. It was at this time of very little advantage to the Company, as except a little ebony, which was brought back to the Cape every year in the despatch packet, it exported nothing. Very few ships called there for supplies. A few burghers and a garrison of thirty or forty men were its only inhabitants. So dependent were its authorities that they could not even

carry their sentences into execution, unless in cases of extreme urgency, until they were reviewed by the court of justice at the Cape.

The government of Mr. Goske is associated with the building of the castle and the establishment of an out-station and farm at Hottentots-Holland, but with little else of interest now. He had no opportunity to originate any improvements. He kept the large garden in Table Valley in order by means of slave labour, but to obtain ten or twelve men to work on the castle he leased the vineyard and garden Rustenburg, at Rondebosch, to free-men, retaining only the lodge there for his own use. With a like view he leased the corn mill to a burgher. One experiment, indeed, he made, which his predecessors do not appear to have thought of. He caused oysters to be brought from the south coast and deposited in Table Bay with a view to their propagation in a convenient place. The experiment was twice made, and on each occasion it failed. The farmers increased very slightly in number during his administration. Only five new names of burghers whose descendants are now in South Africa are found in the records of his time: Jan Pretorius, two brothers Hendrik and Ockert Olivier, Hendrik Smidt, and Gerrit Visser, the last named being a younger brother of Jan Coenraad Visser already mentioned. Immigration, owing to the war, had ceased, and no one who could be kept in the service was permitted to leave it.

Governor Goske was sent to the Cape for a particular purpose, namely, to hold it for the Netherlands at a time of great peril. That time was now past. Peace had been made with England, the only naval power capable of injuring the States, and, in addition, a special treaty had been entered into (18th of March 1674) by the two East India Companies, in which each engaged to promote the honour and profit of the other. There was no necessity to retain here any longer an officer of Mr. Goske's rank and ability, more especially as he reminded the directors

of their engagement to relieve him at an early date, and requested permission to return to Europe.

In November 1674 the assembly of seventeen appointed Johan Bax, the second officer in rank at the island of Ceylon, to succeed Mr. Goske as governor of the Cape, but without the additional title of councillor extraordinary of India. At the same time they complimented the outgoing governor very highly upon his administration, and issued directions that he was to supersede any officer of lower rank who might be returning to Europe as admiral of a fleet. The new governor embarked at Galle in the *Voorhout*, and arrived in Simon's Bay on the 1st of January 1676. Two days later he took part in the deliberations of the council at the Cape, but as no ships were then leaving for Europe Mr. Goske retained the direction of affairs until the 14th of March, on which day Governor Johan Bax was installed with the usual ceremony.

CHAPTER XXXI.

JOHAN BAX, ENTITLED VAN HERENTALS, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 14TH MARCH 1676, DIED 29TH JUNE 1678.
HENDRIK CRUDOP, SECUNDE, ACTING COMMANDER, 29TH JUNE 1678 TO 12TH OCTOBER 1679.

THE Netherlands were still at war with France, but as no fear was entertained of an attack upon the Cape by a hostile fleet, the attention of the authorities could be directed to some other object than the completion of the castle. The settlement was still in a condition of blockade, inasmuch as Hottentots from a distance could not bring cattle to the fort for sale, through fear of being intercepted by the Cochoquas. The farmers at Rondebosch and Wynberg were pressing their claims for protection, and it was necessary to do something to allay their apprehensions of Gonnema making such a raid upon them as he had recently made upon the people of Schacher and Kuiper at the Tigerberg. In the open field they felt confident that the whole Cochoqua tribe would not dare to attack them, but their cattle might easily be swept off and their houses be burnt by a sudden foray on a dark night. To prevent such a disaster the redoubts Kyk uit and Keert de Koe, which had long since fallen into decay, were now rebuilt with stone, and parties of horsemen were stationed in them for the purpose of patrolling along the outermost farms.

A few days after Governor Bax assumed office, intelligence reached the castle from Hottentots-Holland that three burghers, who were so foolhardy as to venture across the mountains, had been murdered by Bushmen at the Breede river, where they were shooting seacows. Upon the evidence

of Captain Klaas and of a European who escaped from the massacre, these Bushmen were termed dependents of Gonnema, and the murder was set down as a charge to his account. But it is by no means certain that he had anything to do with the matter.

When the Dutch came to South Africa they found a nomadic pastoral people living in separate small communities, each community or clan having a name by which it was distinguished from the others. A group of two, three, or more such clans formed a tribe, nominally under one paramount chief, but the bond of cohesion among the members was so weak that there were frequent feuds among them. The tribes, or groups of clans having a recent common origin, were usually at war or watching their neighbours with suspicious eyes. This was the highest form of society known to the Hottentots. Sometimes a clan which had lost its cattle would be reduced to such circumstances as those in which the beachrangers were found on the shores of Table and Saldanha bays, but there was always a possibility for people in this state to regain their former position. There was no race prejudice to prevent their amalgamation with other clans of their own tribe, to whom they bore the same relationship that the poor bear to the rich in all countries.

But wherever the Europeans penetrated they found a class of people whose homes were among almost inaccessible mountains, and who maintained themselves entirely by the chase and by plunder. That these people were of a different race from the herdsmen and were in reality the only ones entitled to be termed aborigines was not even suspected by the Dutch, who believed them to be simply Hottentot robbers or brigands who had thrown off all the restraints of law.* There are peculiarities in the personal

* The first notice of any one having formed an opinion that the Hottentots and Bushmen were distinct races does not occur until more than ten years after this date. The word race is here used in the same signification as when speaking of a Celtic race as distinguished from a Teutonic.

appearance of Bushmen—such as the greater breadth of the upper part of their faces, the absence of projecting chins, and the want of lobes to the ears—which enable men like the late Dr. Bleek to pronounce unfailingly, at first sight, and before a word has been spoken, as to their nationality; and scientific examination into the structure of their language has shown them to be a people far removed in point of relationship from the other races who resided in South Africa in the seventeenth century, but the Europeans who first came into contact with them did not detect these differences. Very likely a party of Afghans, if transported to Ireland without any previous knowledge of the country and its people, would be a long time in making the discovery that the Saxon speaking English and the Celt speaking Irish were not closely related in blood. To them the Celt would be undistinguishable from the Saxon. And this was precisely the position that the Bushmen and the Hottentots stood in to the Dutch of the seventeenth century.

The Hottentots called the Bushmen Sana, a title distinguishing them as a distinct race from their own, but spoke of them usually as ǁobiqua, or robbers and murderers. They seldom spared any who fell into their hands. Still, necessity had in some instances brought about an arrangement by which parties of Bushmen were either in alliance with Hottentot clans or were in a condition of dependence upon them, serving as scouts and spies and receiving in return a precarious protection.* The Hottentot chiefs without exception denied that they had any right or means of control over the Bushmen in their neighbourhood. The European authorities frequently called upon them to preserve order in the districts in which they

* This is the case with regard to the Bushmen along the eastern margin of the Kalahari and the Betshuana clans in that country to the present day. All the modern inhabitants of South Africa have distinct race names for Hottentots and Bushmen. The Kaffirs on the frontier of the Cape Colony call the Hottentots Amalawo, and the Bushmen Abatwa.

were residing by suppressing the brigandage of their subjects, but their reply was always to the effect that the robbers were not their subjects, and that they would cheerfully exterminate them if they could.

It is thus unlikely that Gonnema had anything to do with the murder of the burghers by the Bushmen. The council decided to send an expedition against the murderers, for which purpose a commando was assembled consisting of fifty foot-soldiers and twenty-three horsemen, fifty burghers under Wouter Mostert, and a large band of Hottentots under the captains Klaas, Koopman, Schacher, Kuiper, and Sousoa. The commando was provisioned for three weeks, and was under the general orders of Lieutenant Cruse. Soon after setting out, a stranger who was held to be a spy was seized and compelled to act as guide, but as he led the expedition to some abandoned kraals, he was handed over to Captain Klaas, who put him to death. The Bushmen could not be found, and after a wearisome march the commando returned to the castle without having effected anything.

Six months after this a petty captain, who was called Jacob by the Dutch, came round from Saldanha Bay in a small vessel belonging to a freeman, and tendered his services to look for Gonnema. Under pretence of purchasing cattle this man was sent out as a spy, and returned with information that the enemy was encamped in the Sugarbergen only a day's march beyond the Berg river. Behind were the Namaquas and the Grigriquas, hereditary enemies of the Cochoquas, so that escape in that direction would be impossible.

Hereupon a large commando was assembled, and under guidance of Jacob left the Cape in expectation of being able to surprise Gonnema, and to punish him severely. The expedition marched only at night, and took every precaution to avoid detection, but by some means the enemy became aware of its approach and escaped in good time. Foiled in its principal object, the commando then

made a detour to Saldanha Bay, and fell upon Captain Kees, who had destroyed the Company's post there three years before. Several of his followers were killed, and the whole of his stock, which consisted of one hundred and sixty-five head of horned cattle and thirty sheep, was seized. The booty taken on this occasion being so small, the Hottentot allies were rewarded for their fidelity by presents of such articles as they most desired out of the Company's stores.

This was the last expedition sent out during the war with Gonnema, which for four years kept the country in a disturbed condition. On the 8th of June 1677 Kuiper and another petty captain appeared at the castle accompanied by some messengers from the Cochoqua chief, who reported that their mission was to ascertain if peace could not be established. They were persons of no rank, and brought no peace offerings, having merely been sent to make inquiries. They asserted that if the prospects were favourable it was Gonnema's intention to visit the governor, and thereafter to trade in friendship with the Europeans. He and his people had become weary of living like Bushmen in the mountains, always on the alert against attack.

The council hereupon decided to let the messengers know that the overture was agreeable, and that if the Cochoquas would send a more respectable deputation to make due submission to the honourable Company, the government was prepared to enter into a firm peace, in which, however, the allies of the Europeans must also be included. A safe conduct to hold good for three months was given to the messengers, and a small present was sent to Gonnema as coming from Lieutenant Cruse.

On the 24th the same messengers returned to the castle, bringing with them a present of nine head of cattle, and accompanied by three men of position, named Nengue, Harru, and Nuguma, who were empowered to ask for peace. The ambassadors with their followers

were admitted to the council chamber, the burgher councillors and the chief officer of the militia being present also. There the conditions, which were purposely embodied in a few short clauses, were interpreted and explained to them, and to these they signified their assent by a general exclamation of "Sam! sam!" or "Peace! peace!" They were as follow:—

In the first place the ambassadors request forgiveness for the acts which occasioned the war, and ask that a friendly intercourse may be established as before.

They offer and promise to deliver as tribute thirty head of cattle upon the arrival of the first return fleet in every year.

They promise to punish their people in the same manner as the honourable Company does.*

They promise not to wage war against any of the honourable Company's allies without the knowledge of the government.

In this peace are included the captains Kuiper and Schacher, also the petty captain Kees, and all who are subject to Gonnema, Schacher, and Kuiper.

The above conditions having been placed on record with the signatures of the officials and the marks of the envoys attached, presents were made to each of the Hottentots, and a good quantity of tobacco, pipes, beads, etc., was sent to Gonnema in return for the nine head of cattle. And so the country was restored to a state of tranquillity again.

The war with the Cochoquas, though in itself a petty matter, had very important effects upon the European settlement. The Company had learned from it that the supply of cattle from the Hottentots was precarious, that

* This clause would seem to be somewhat obscure, but subsequent transactions show that it was intended to mean that the Cochoquas should regard certain offences, particularly thefts of stock, as crimes of magnitude to be punished severely, and not to be lightly passed over as had been their custom.

at any time the hostile action of a single clan might cut off access to the tribes beyond and prevent the barter which furnished the garrison and ships with meat. The establishment in Table Valley was too expensive to be kept up merely for the purpose of providing vegetables for the crews of the Indian fleets. It was necessary therefore to increase the number of colonists, and to induce some of them to turn their attention to cattle breeding, so that the danger of being left without animal food might be averted. Hitherto the burghers were regarded as being useful chiefly in furnishing poultry, eggs, vegetables, fruit, and grain when required, and the Hottentots were mainly relied upon to meet the other pressing need: henceforth a larger field of industry was placed before Europeans, and a system of colonisation was encouraged which when fairly entered upon tended to the rapid expansion of the settlement.

Notwithstanding the strict regulations that had from time to time been enacted prohibiting trade between the burghers and the Hottentots, it had not been prevented. It was now discovered that the forbidden traffic was being carried on to a large extent, and laws even more severe than the old ones were therefore issued and enforced. It was made a capital offence to furnish a Hottentot with firearms or any kind of munitions of war. Two guns that had been bartered by farmers to Hottentots for cattle were recovered with great difficulty and at considerable expense. It was made a penal offence to pay Hottentots for labour in money, because they did not know the value of it, and rated their services altogether too dear, or in half-breed sheep, because robberies could not be traced if they were in possession of such animals. One of the reasons assigned for desiring to prevent traffic between the two races was the fear of the government that the farmers might imprudently commit some act which would lead to serious difficulties. No doubt there was good cause for such fear. These are instances on record of some lawless

deeds committed in Commander Borghorst's days, and at this time there was a case which was giving no little trouble.

In the year 1672 a lawless character named Willem Willems deliberately shot a Hottentot upon very slight provocation, and then escaped to Europe in a Danish ship. Soon after his arrival in Holland, he presented himself before the prince of Orange, and by means of false representations procured a safe conduct to return to this country, where he had a family and some property. Upon making his appearance here again, the council felt itself bound to respect the safe conduct, but as the Hottentots far and wide clamoured for justice, the criminal was placed upon Robben Island until instructions could be received from the directors. A close investigation into the particulars of the homicide was made, and the evidence was sent to Europe. In course of time instructions came back to send Willems with his family to Mauritius, but his wife, who in the meantime had been causing a great deal of trouble by her misconduct, objected to this scheme, and some delay took place. Eventually the family was deported to Batavia, but as they returned again to the Cape they were banished to Mauritius and not permitted afterwards to leave that island.

Another reason for prohibiting the burghers from trading with the Hottentots was to keep down the price of cattle. In this traffic the Company could not permit its subjects to become its rivals. The government was anxious that the farmers should be in possession of large herds and flocks, and it not only supplied them with stock at rates very little above cost price, but it leased breeding cows and ewes to them on equal shares of the increase. It even promised that if they would bring to its stores any Hottentots who might come to them with anything for sale, they might purchase it again out of the stores at exactly cost price. Offering these inducements to obedience, it prohibited the purchase of cattle by a burgher

from a Hottentot under penalty of severe corporal punishment, and the purchase of any other merchandise, such as ivory, ostrich feathers, peltries, etc., under penalty of a fine of £4 and such other punishment as the court of justice might deem proper to inflict. To protect its cattle trade, the Hottentot captains who were under the influence of the government were required not to purchase from those farther away, under pain of being considered unfriendly.

All these restrictions, combined with police regulations for searching waggons passing the barrier beyond the castle and the watch-house Keert de Koe, as well as frequent inspection of the kraals of the farmers, could not entirely suppress the forbidden traffic. That these severe regulations produced no remonstrance from the burghers shows how different were the opinions then held from those of the present day. There was never a people more unwilling than the Dutch to keep silent when they felt themselves aggrieved. They never scrupled to raise their voices and claim what they believed to be their rights whenever they thought they were oppressed by their government or any of its officers. But in this case they did not consider that their privileges had been invaded.

A quarter of a century had now elapsed since the arrival of the Europeans, during which time the habits of the Hottentots living permanently in the Cape peninsula seem to have undergone very little change. They had increased considerably in number, and had a kraal in Table Valley, on the upper side of the present Hottentot-square, but in general they were to be found lounging about the houses of the burghers. The men could not be induced to do any other work than tend cattle, but the women gathered fuel for sale, and the young girls were mostly in service. They were dressed in sheepskins and cast-off European clothing, and depended for food principally upon supplies of rice obtained in return for

such service as they performed. They had become passionately fond of arrack and tobacco.

Early in 1678 there was such a scarcity of rice in the settlement that the burghers were compelled to discharge their dependents, and as these were no longer able to live as their ancestors had done, they were driven by hunger to seize sheep and even to plunder the houses of the Europeans in open day. Just at that time a party of Bushmen took up their abode in the mountains at the back of Wynberg and descended at night upon the kraals of the farmers. In great alarm the burghers appealed to the council for protection, and measures were promptly adopted to suppress the disorder. There was a large supply of ships' biscuits in the magazines, and it was resolved to sell these at a very cheap rate to the burghers, so that they might again employ and feed the Hottentots. Food was to be offered in payment to all who would work at the moat which was then being made round the castle. The country was to be patrolled night and day by horsemen. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of robbers. Schacher and Kuiper were sent for, and upon their arrival at the castle were informed that they would be detained as prisoners until their followers brought in such of the robbers as were known to be their people. These were accordingly captured and delivered over without delay, when with some others they were transported to Robben Island.

These captains subsequently captured five of the Bushmen, whom they brought to the castle and delivered to the governor, requesting that the prisoners might either be punished by the Europeans or be given back to them to be put to death. The council decided that as their crimes had been committed against the honourable Company, they should be tried by the court of justice. A present of goods to the value of £5 was made to the captains in return for their faithful services, and to encourage them to search for such of the brigands as were

still at liberty. The prisoners were tried by the court of justice, were sentenced to death as highwaymen, and were executed.

The principles upon which the government dealt with the earlier inhabitants were that the European power was supreme, entitled to take cognisance of all cases between whites and Hottentots, and to settle all differences between the clans so as to preserve peace and to secure its own interests, but it rarely interfered in matters affecting the wild people only. The Hottentot captains accepted without murmur the positions assigned to them, and at this time Klaas, Koopman, Oedasoa, Gonnema, Schacher, Kuiper, and the others were on such good terms with Governor Bax that they were ready to do whatever he wished. A large cattle trade was carried on with them and the Hessequas Occasionally there were cases of violence on one side or the other, and in one instance two Hottentots were shot in a quarrel with the Company's hunters, but the government did all that was in its power to prevent such disturbances, and upon the whole succeeded very well.

In 1676 a matrimonial court was established. It consisted of four commissioners, two being servants of the Company and two burghers. Half the members retired yearly, and their places were supplied by election of the council of policy from a double list furnished by the court itself. Before these commissioners all persons intending to marry were obliged to appear, for the purpose of showing that no legal impediment existed. As long as the frontier was only a few kilometres distant this was no hardship to any one, but with the extension of the colony it came to be felt as oppressive.

The slave population was at this time considerably increased by importations from Madagascar and Ceylon. Most of these slaves were men, but there were a few women and children among them. The children were sent to school, but it was resolved not to baptize them until their parents should be instructed in Christianity,

when all could be baptized at the same time. A person was employed to recite prayers morning and evening, which the adults were required to repeat. Some of the cleverest youths were selected and placed with master mechanics to be taught trades, so that they might become more useful. The price charged by the Company to the burghers for an adult slave was equal to six pounds sterling, barely the cost of introduction, and it could be paid in five hundred and ninety kilogrammes weight of wheat.

In January 1677 a little yacht named the *Bode* was sent along the west coast to examine it carefully, to ascertain how far the Hottentot race extended, and to endeavour to discover the island of St. Helena Nova. She was accompanied by a cutter drawing very little water and therefore adapted to run close inshore. The *Bode* went as far as latitude 12° 47′ S., where she found a small Portuguese fort named Sombreiro. Some distance to the southward the last Hottentots had been seen, but the line of demarcation between them and the black tribes could not be exactly ascertained. The Portuguese knew nothing whatever of such an island as St. Helena Nova, and from this date its existence was held to be a fiction. Along the coast various bays or bights were discovered, but all were found wanting in fresh water and fuel. It is surprising that the mouth of the Orange river was not noticed in passing. The *Bode* returned to Table Bay at the end of May, having been rather more than four months engaged in the survey of the west coast.

The seaboard of the district now called Zululand was at this time carefully examined by the *Voorhout* and *Quartel*, two small vessels that were sent to the bay of St. Augustine to trade for slaves.

As the work at the castle was proceeding very slowly owing to the small number of labourers engaged, a plan which seems somewhat whimsical was adopted to expedite the excavation of the moat. On the 25th of November

1677 the governor himself, his lady, his little son, all the Company's officers and their wives, the burgher councillors, and other leading inhabitants with their wives, set to work for a considerable time carrying out earth. The governor carried out twelve baskets full and his lady six. After this a regulation was made that every one who passed the castle, male or female, irrespective of rank, should contribute labour to the same extent.

The little wooden church inside the fortress was now quite full of graves. The ground on which it stood was higher than the general surface, and it was considered advisable to level it and to remove the building. It was therefore necessary to select a site for a new church, and for this purpose a portion of the lower end of the great garden was chosen, as the garden could be extended with advantage towards the mountain. A plot of ground sufficiently large for a cemetery was enclosed with a strong wall, and on the 9th of April 1678 the foundation stone of a church was laid in the centre of it.

The edifice was not completed until December 1703, but the ground was used as a cemetery. The first interment in it was the body of the reverend Petrus Hulsenaar, who upon the removal of Mr. Meerland to Batavia in March 1676 succeeded him as clergyman of the Cape, and who died on the 15th of December 1677. He was buried in the middle of the site on which the church was afterwards to stand. Subsequently the remains of those who had been interred beneath the old building were removed to this ground and deposited in a common grave. A fee of five pounds was thereafter made payable to the funds of the consistory for a grave inside the church, and eight shillings for one outside.

The project of settling European cattle breeders on the tract of land which stretches beyond the Cape flats from the Atlantic shore to the first range of mountains had been under consideration since the war with Gonnema, but it was difficult for the Company to carry it into

effect. Where were the men who were to be turned into cattle breeders to come from? The free Netherland provinces were occupying stations in the Indian islands and carrying on an ocean commerce that required a number of soldiers and sailors altogether beyond the capability of their own people to supply, and though many hundreds of young Germans, Swiss, and Scandinavians took service yearly with the East and West India companies, they were not usually the sort of men to make good pioneer colonists. They came chiefly from towns, and—the Germans especially—were better adapted for mechanical work and military employment than for either agricultural or pastoral pursuits. Many of them, indeed, as well as many Dutch seamen were willing to make an experiment in farming, but experience had proved that such experiments were costly. The Company had to provide them with food, live stock, and implements to commence with, and after failure in more than nine cases out of ten had to take them back into service in its strongholds and fleets with debts that could never be paid. In some instances discharged men had turned out so badly that after repeated warnings it had been necessary to place them by force on board ship and send them to India. A few more industrious and more prudent than the others, were left by this kind of selection; but the cost of establishing a colony in this manner was not to be lightly regarded.

Still there was no other way of obtaining cattle breeders and gardeners, for the number of suitable persons that could be induced to migrate from the Netherlands to South Africa was too small to be taken into account. The best that could be done was to exercise great care in releasing from service only those men who appeared likely to be able to get a living as burghers. These were chiefly either married men of Dutch birth or foreigners who had married Dutch women, though single men were often discharged for the purpose of taking service with farmers.

It needed no small amount of courage for any one to hazard living beyond the Cape peninsula at this time, as —except in two localities—he would be secluded from companionship and exposed to the depredations of the Hottentots and the Bushmen. To men provided with no better weapons than the firelocks and flint muskets of those days, the wild animals with which the country swarmed were also a source of danger as well as of heavy loss. In a single night at one of the Company's cattle kraals no fewer than a hundred and twenty sheep were destroyed by lions and hyenas. There was, however, the outpost at Hottentots-Holland, where corn was cultivated, and a station at the Tigerberg, where a party of soldiers guarded the cattle kept for the use of the fleets, so that in their neighbourhood graziers would feel they were not altogether secluded from the society of their kind.

In January 1678 a beginning was made. The government arranged with two men named Jochem Marquaart and Hendrik Elberts for the lease of a tract of land at Hottentots-Holland with stock of horned cattle and sheep, and they became the pioneer graziers of South Africa. They were followed in February by two others named Henning Huising and Nicolaas Gerrits, who established themselves as sheep farmers on the adjoining land, and in August by another named Cornelis Botma, who also set up as a sheep farmer. These were the only freemen who settled beyond the isthmus at this period, so small was the first ripple of that wave of European colonisation which now after the lapse of little more than two centuries and a quarter is flowing into territories drained by the Zambesi.

It has been mentioned already that the servants of the Company, including the officers of ships, were permitted to trade for themselves to a small extent. They brought various articles to the Cape, which they sold either to the privileged dealers or the burghers generally, under supervision of the council. This trade was found

to interfere with the Company's sales, and therefore in 1678 it was resolved to levy duties upon it equivalent to the loss sustained. As this is the first tariff of customs duties levied here, and as it shows some of the articles in which private trade was carried on, the list is given in full:—For a keg of brandy 33*s.* 4*d.*, a keg of arrack 16*s.* 8*d.*, a half aam or seventy-two litres of Rhenish wine 33*s.* 4*d.*, seventy-two litres of French wine 25*s.*, a cask of mum 25*s.*, a kilogramme of tobacco 3*s.*, a gross of pipes 2*s.* 6*d.*, four hundred and fifty kilogrammes of rice 20*s.* 8*d.*, a canister of sugar 4*s.* 2*d.*

On the 4th of January 1678 died Joan Maatsuyker, governor-general of Netherlands India during the preceding quarter of a century. He was succeeded by Ryklof van Goens the elder, who has been mentioned several times in connection with Cape affairs.

Governor Bax was in robust health previous to the winter of 1678, when he caught a severe cold which settled upon his lungs and completely prostrated him. He was confined to his bed for fifteen days before his death, which took place on the morning of the 29th of June. Just before his decease he gave instructions for carrying on the government, and appointed the secunde Hendrik Crudop to succeed him, with the title of acting commander, until the pleasure of the authorities at Batavia or in the Netherlands should become known.

On the 4th of July his remains were laid with as much state as possible in the ground where the new church was to stand. It was a dark and rainy day, but all the Europeans in the settlement attended, as did also several Hottentot captains and their chief men, for the late governor had been esteemed by them as well as by the white people. A neat slab was afterwards brought from Robben Island and laid over the grave, but it has long since disappeared.

During the administration of Mr. Crudop very little occurred that calls for mention. It was a time of peace,

there was no important work in hand, and nothing new could well be undertaken.

For ten months after the death of the reverend Petrus Hulsenaar there was no resident clergyman at the Cape. Services were occasionally held by the chaplains of ships, and a sermon was read every Sunday and on special occasions by the sick-comforter, just as in the early days of the settlement. On the 18th of October 1678 the ship *Wapen van Alkmaar* arrived with a chaplain named Johannes Overney on board, and as he consented to remain here the council appointed him acting clergyman until the pleasure of the supreme authorities should be known. He was afterwards confirmed in the appointment, and remained at the Cape for several years.

On the 10th of February 1679 intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace between France and the Netherlands. This was followed by another reduction of the garrison at the Cape, and by the release of all the European labourers employed on the castle. The completion of the moat was the only work of importance that then remained, and that could be performed by slaves at a trifling expense to the Company.

On the 26th of April the council resolved to name the five points of the castle in honour of the stadtholder. The one first built—that near the shore of the bay on the side towards the Lion's rump—was named Buren, the next—that near the shore of the bay on the side towards Salt River—was named Nassau, keeping round in the same direction the third was named Catzenellenbogen, the fourth Oranje, and the fifth Leerdam. Within the massive walls there were residences for the officers of government, storehouses for grain and wine, barracks for soldiers, and apartments for the transaction of public business. It was the head quarters of civilisation in South Africa. Of ornamentation it had little, but above the entrance, which was between the bastions Buren and Leerdam, were the arms of the six cities in which the

chambers were established, with the monogram of the Company on either side, and over all the lion of the Netherlands, carved in stone. The archway was also surmounted with a neat bell turret.

In August 1679 permission was given to Henning Huising and his partner to graze their sheep along the Eerste river, provided they could satisfy the Hottentots who generally used the pasture there, and so prevent ill feeling. At the same time the burghers Pieter Visagie and Jan Mostert obtained leave to occupy a tract of land on the eastern side of the Tigerberg, the place where the Company usually gathered its hay. The tenure upon which the seven burghers who were now residing beyond the isthmus held the ground they were using was merely a license of occupation, and they were not required to pay rent. The country, in fact, was before them to select the pastures that would best suit their flocks and herds, and everything that the government could do to encourage and assist them was done. It was different in the neighbourhood of the castle, because there agriculture was the chief industry, and on that account the plots of land that were occupied by burghers at Rondebosch and Wynberg were defined by survey, and were held in freehold, or in full property as the tenure was termed in those days.

During the time that Mr. Bax was governor two or three families of immigrants and several women whose husbands were already here arrived from the Netherlands. In the records of this period are found the names of eleven new burghers whose descendants are now scattered over South Africa: Frans Bastiaans, Dirk Coetsee, Simon Faasen, Paul Heyns, Jan Hendrik de Lange, Nicolaas Loubser, Roelof Pasman, Diederik Putter, Jan Wessels, and the brothers Willem and Adriaan van Wyk. According to the census of 1679 there were eighty-seven freemen, with fifty-five women, one hundred and seventeen children, thirty European men servants, one hundred and

thirty-three men slaves, thirty-eight women slaves, and twenty slave children in the settlement.

It was probably about this time, though it may have been a little later, that a small stream of Hottentot emigration began to set out from the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlement towards the interior of the country. Seeing the impossibility of resisting the encroachments of the Europeans successfully, some of the more enterprising of the Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas not unnaturally made up their minds to seek a new home for themselves where they would be undisturbed. The coast belts both to the north and the east were closed against them by clans of their own race; but the higher lands of the interior were occupied by Bushmen only, who they were confident would be unable to oppose them. There is no mention of this emigration in the official records, and consequently no particulars concerning it can be given except those that have been gathered from the traditions of the Koranas, who are the descendants of Hottentots that moved away from the Cape district.

According to those traditions Kora, or Choro as written by the Dutch, chief of the Gorachouquas, died when still young, and was succeeded by his son Eikomo. This man led the first party of emigrants, and following a route far east of the territory occupied by the Grigriqua and Namaqua tribes, he arrived on the high central plateau drained by the Orange river. Here in course of time these pioneers were joined by band after band of refugees from the clans about the Cape peninsula, all of whom took the title of Koraqua or Korana from the chief Kora. For nearly a century they lived on the high plateau unknown except to the Bushmen, and then, having grown numerous, they commenced a career of warfare and robbery that will be related in another volume.

Upon intelligence of the death of Governor Bax reaching the Netherlands, the directors of the East India Company considered that it would be unnecessary to appoint a

successor of higher rank than a commander. The colony was, therefore, reduced again to its position before the arrival of Mr. Goske. The officer whom they selected to fill the vacant post was then living in Amsterdam, and was in the service of the chamber there, but he readily consented to remove to the Cape in the way of promotion. His name was Simon van der Stel. He embarked in the ship *Vrye Zee*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 12th of October 1679. The secunde Crudop, with the members of the council, went off to welcome him, and amid discharges of cannon and musketry he landed and was received by the garrison and militia under arms. In the council chamber in the castle his commission was read by the secretary, the officials all promised lawful obedience, and the new commander assumed the direction of affairs.

HAPTER XXXII.

SIMON VAN DER STEL, COMMANDER, INSTALLED 12TH OCTOBER 1679, RAISED TO THE RANK OF GOVERNOR 1ST JUNE 1691, RETIRED 11TH FEBRUARY 1699.

THE officer who was now at the head of the Cape government was destined to exercise a greater influence upon the future of South Africa than any of his predecessors had done. He was a son of Adriaan van der Stel, commander for the honourable East India Company of the island of Mauritius. Born there on the 14th of November 1639, Simon van der Stel when very young was sent to the fatherland, and received a liberal education in the best schools of Holland. Connected by marriage with an ancient and influential family of Amsterdam, he had hitherto maintained the character of a highly respectable burgher, though the situation which he held in the service of the East India Company brought him in but a very limited income, and he had inherited little or nothing. He was poor, and so when an opportunity of improving his fortune was offered to him he gladly accepted it.

In person Simon van der Stel was small, with a dark complexion, but open cheerful countenance. His habits were refined, and as far as his means would permit he surrounded himself with objects of taste. His courtesy and exceeding hospitality to strangers are dwelt upon by more than one visitor to the Cape, as is also his fondness for telling marvellous tales of his adventures and creating merriment at his own expense. Witty, good natured, and polite, he was also shrewd and possessed of a very large

amount of plain common sense. Against all these good qualities, however, must be placed an inordinate desire for wealth, which was hardly noticeable during the early period of his government, but which increased as he advanced in years, and which towards the close of his life drew upon him a suspicion of not being over particular as to the method of making money.

The most prominent trait of his character, as it affected South Africa, was perhaps his intense patriotism. In his eyes everything that was Dutch was good, and whatever was not Dutch was not worthy of regard. From the day that he landed on our shores to the day that he resigned the government he constantly studied how he could best make the district round the Cape resemble as closely as possible a province of the Netherlands. The Dutch language, Dutch laws, Dutch institutions, Dutch customs, being all perfect in his opinion, he made it his business to plant them here uncorrupted and unchanged.

Commander Van der Stel brought here with him his four sons, of whom the eldest, Wilhem Adriaan by name, was in after years governor of the colony. The youngest, Frans, became a farmer; and the remaining two, after farming, speculating, and holding various appointments in South Africa, removed elsewhere in the service of the East India Company. The commander's lady was unable or unwilling to accompany him from Amsterdam. She remained there with her friends, and never again saw her husband, though he continued to regard her with much affection.

When Simon van der Stel arrived in South Africa the colony comprised only the settlements around the foot of Table Mountain, the outposts at Saldanha Bay and Hottentots-Holland, a cattle station at Tigerberg, and the ground held on lease beyond the isthmus by the seven burghers whose names have been mentioned. The coast belt had been explored eastward about as far as the present village of George, and northward seventy or eighty kilo-

metres beyond the mouth of the Elephant river. The boundary between the Hottentot and Bantu races had not yet been ascertained. The existence of the fabulous stream Camissa was firmly believed in, and it was laid down in the charts as entering the sea by two mouths, one of which was named Rio Infante and was placed in the position of the present Fish river. The Orange had never been heard of.

The commander devoted a few days to a thorough inspection of the government offices and of the country in the neighbourhood of the castle; after which, on the 3rd of November, he left the Cape for the purpose of visiting the station at Hottentots-Holland. He was attended by a few servants and a small escort of soldiers. The party encamped that night at a place called the Kuilen, close by a stream which still bears that name. The following morning the commander rode to Hottentots-Holland, where he was greatly pleased with the condition in which he found the farming establishment. After making himself acquainted with all particulars there, he resolved to examine the country inland, towards the mountains which seemed to forbid farther progress in that direction.

In the afternoon of the 6th or 7th of November,—it is not certain which but it was probably the 6th,—the commander with his attendants rode into the most charming valley he had yet seen. The hills which enclosed it were diversified in form, but all were clothed with rich grass, and in their recesses were patches of dark evergreen forest trees. Through the valley flowed a clear stream of sweet water, which at one point divided into two channels and uniting again farther down enclosed an island of considerable size. There, under a wide-spreading tree, the commander's pavilion was set up, and close by was pitched a tent which was to serve him as a bed-chamber.

At the beginning of November the heat, even at mid-day, has not become oppressive, and the mornings and

evenings in the pure air and under the clear sky are almost invariably pleasant. The commander, fresh from a long sea voyage, and at all times capable of appreciating the beauties of nature, was enchanted with the scene before him, as indeed a man of much colder temperament than Simon van der Stel might have been. He observed that the valley was not only beautiful to the eye, but that its soil was rich and its water abundant. It might be made the home of many thriving families. At this time there were no signs of human life beyond the commander's own encampment, though the spot must often have been visited by bands of nomad Hottentots bringing their herds to graze upon its pastures. The island was dotted over thickly with fine trees, which suggested to the commander a name that should perpetuate his own memory in connection with the grove. He called it Stellenbosch.

On the 8th of November the party reached the castle again, but during that journey of five days extensive plans of colonisation had been forming in the commander's mind. He would build up a thriving settlement here at the extremity of Africa, which should furnish not only the cattle needed by the Company, but articles suited for commerce. He would begin at the place which bore his own name, and plant there a body of freeholders who would become attached to the soil. The great difficulty was to find men and women to make colonists of, for the fatherland could not furnish people in large numbers, and the commander objected to foreigners. The process of filling up the country must therefore be slow, and could only proceed as suitable men were discharged from service and settled in the Cape peninsula, so that those who had experience might remove to wider fields beyond.

Before the close of the year the first farmer of Stellenbosch had put his plough into the ground there, and in May 1680 he was followed by a party of eight families, who removed together. The heads of these families were

induced to leave the Cape district by an offer of as much land as they could cultivate, with the privilege of selecting it for themselves anywhere in the Stellenbosch valley. It was to be theirs in full property, and could be reclaimed by the Company only upon their ceasing to cultivate it. Like all other landed property in the settlement it was burdened with the payment of a tithe of the grain grown upon it and not consumed by the owner. The cultivation of tobacco was prohibited under severe penalties, but the farmers were at liberty to raise anything else that they chose. To encourage the breeding of cattle unlimited use of all ground not under cultivation was permitted, and upon this branch of industry no tax of any kind was levied for the benefit of the Company.

Before the arrival of Simon van der Stel the large garden in Table Valley was used chiefly to produce vegetables for the garrison and the fleets. Very little had been done in it in the way of ornamentation. But one of the earliest acts of the commander was to prepare a plan which he steadily carried out until the Company's garden at the Cape became something wonderful in the eyes of visitors. For nearly a hundred years from this date writers of various nationalities could hardly find words to express their admiration of this famous garden, and to the present day a remnant of its original beauty remains in the oak avenue which was once its central walk.* By Simon van der Stel the ground was divided into a great number of small parallelograms separated from each other by live hedges high enough to break the force of the wind. Some of these plots were devoted to the production of fruit, others to the production of vegetables, others again were nurseries of European timber

* The trees now forming the avenue are not of very great age. Those first planted were orange trees, which were shortly afterwards replaced by other kinds which could be used for timber when full grown. On two or three occasions the avenue has been utilised in this manner, but whenever a row or part of a row was removed, young trees were set out again in the same order.

trees. In some of them experiments were made with various foreign trees and shrubs, in others the wild plants of Africa were collected in order that their properties might be ascertained. Twenty years after Simon van der Stel laid out the ground afresh, visitors who had seen the most celebrated gardens of Europe and India were agreed that nowhere else in the world was so great a variety of trees and shrubs, of vegetables and flowers, to be met with together.

The commander enlarged the garden towards the mountain, but he cut off a narrow strip at the lower end on which he intended in course of time to erect a hospital and a building for the accommodation of the Company's slaves. Just inside the new main entrance, on the ground where the statue of Queen Victoria now stands, he had a pleasure house or lodge put up, and there he usually entertained visitors of rank.* The whole garden could be irrigated by the stream then called the Sweet river, and its drainage was also carefully attended to. Over a hundred slaves were usually employed in keeping it in order. These slaves worked under the supervision of skilful Europeans, who in their turn received directions from a chief gardener or superintendent.

Next to Simon van der Stel the credit of beautifying the Company's garden is due to Hendrik Bernard Oldenland, a native of Lubec, who occupied the post of superintendent shortly after this date, while the most important improvements were being made. Oldenland, who had studied medicine for three years at Leiden, was a skilful botanist and a man devoted to his work. Apart from his duties in the Company's garden, he collected and dried specimens of a great number of South African plants, which he intended to send to the Netherlands to be preserved for the use of botanists there, and he was preparing

*After the erection close by of the slave lodge—the present public offices—this pleasure house was removed, and a commencement was then made farther up the garden with the building still used as the governor's residence.

a descriptive catalogue of these plants in the Latin language when sudden death arrested the work. Before that time Commander Van der Stel had retired from the government, and Oldenland's collection of plants together with his papers fell into the hands of a man who could not make use of them. They were seen some years afterwards by the historian Valentyn, who speaks very highly of the herbarium, and copies several pages of the "Catalogue of Plants." Kolbe quotes even more largely from the same work, though he has given the author's name incorrectly. Stavorinus also gives an abstract of it. Long after Oldenland's death the herbarium was sent to the Netherlands, where, in 1770, Thunberg found it in possession of Professor Burmann of Amsterdam.

The under-gardener, Jan Hertog by name, was also a skilful botanist, though less highly educated than the superintendent.

At this time the Hottentots were living on the best of terms with the Europeans, but now and again a party of hunters was molested by Bushmen. A large cattle trade was carried on, principally with the Hessequas. The commander was anxious to become better acquainted with the Namaquas, as he was of opinion that there must be some sources of commercial wealth in the part of the country in which they resided. In August 1681 he sent Captain Kees to endeavour to induce some of the leading men of this tribe to visit the Cape, and a few months later he was gratified to hear that a party of them had reached the Grigriqua kraals on their way to see him. He immediately sent a sergeant and some soldiers with presents and complimentary messages, and under their escort the Namaqua deputation arrived at the castle on the 21st of December.

The men were accompanied by their wives, all riding on pack oxen. They brought their huts with them, these consisting merely of a framework of long twigs fastened together in the form of a beehive and covered with rush

mats. These huts could be taken from the backs of the oxen and be put up almost as quickly as tents could be pitched. They were habitations such as none but nomads would use. To furnish food, the travellers brought with them a herd of cows, for they depended almost entirely upon milk for subsistence.

The Namaquas presented some specimens of very rich copper ore, which they asserted they had taken out of a mountain with their own hands. This information was exceedingly interesting to the commander, who concluded with reason that the ore must exist there in great abundance when such specimens could be collected without any appliances for mining. He questioned them eagerly about their country.

Were they acquainted with the great river Camissa and the town of Vigiti Magna?

They had never heard of any town near their country, but they knew of a great river, very wide and deep.

Was it far from their kraals, and in what direction was it?

It was far, and it was on the side of the sun at noon.

In what direction did it flow?

Across that in which they had come to the castle.

Were they sure of this?

Quite sure.

And so the first authentic information of the Gariep or Orange river was obtained, though it was long yet before European eyes were to see it.

The Namaquas, of course, knew nothing of the fabulous empire termed Monomotapa on the maps. They informed the commander that they were acquainted with a race of people whom they called Briquas, the same who are known to us as Betshuana. They also told some stories which they had heard of tribes still more distant, but these accounts were merely visionary tales. Of their own tribe they gave such information as satisfied the commander that the only trade to be carried on with

them would be in cattle, unless something could be done with the copper ore. After a stay of five days the visitors left the castle to return to their own country, taking with them a variety of presents, including a staff of office for their chief. They promised to return in the following year with cattle to trade and more specimens of copper ore.

At the beginning of his government Simon van der Stel interpreted the instructions received from the directors concerning the treatment of foreigners to mean that he was not to permit them to obtain other refreshment than water. Some Danes and Englishmen who visited Table Bay were unable to purchase anything whatever. The commander treated the officers with politeness, and invited them to his table, but declined to supply their ships with meat or vegetables. He informed some of them that they were at liberty to purchase what they could from the burghers, but privately he sent messengers round to the farmers forbidding them in some instances to sell anything under very heavy penalties, and in other cases requiring them to charge four or five times the usual rates. Complaints of such treatment as this speedily reached Europe, and representations were made to the assembly of seventeen which caused that body to issue instructions that foreigners were to be treated as of old. They were not to be supplied, except in very urgent cases, with sea stores out of the magazines, as such stores were sent here solely for the use of the Company's own ships. They were to be at liberty to purchase refreshments from the burghers. No wheat or fuel was to be sold to them, as the Company needed all and more than all that was procurable of both. They were to be at liberty to refresh themselves in the lodging-houses kept by the town burghers. They were not to be permitted to sell merchandise in bulk.

The restrictions of Commander Van der Stel lasted only until November 1683, after which date foreigners, though

not encouraged to visit the Cape, were treated here quite as fairly as subjects of the Netherlands were in the colonies of other European nations. A system was gradually introduced by which they were indirectly taxed for the benefit of the Company. This was done in the farming out of the privilege to sell bread, meat, wine, etc. The exclusive right to sell bread, for instance, was put up for sale with the condition that a certain fixed price should be charged to burghers, but foreigners might be charged a higher rate, which was sometimes fixed and sometimes as much as could be obtained. There were two methods of holding sales of this kind. One was to farm out a privilege for the highest sum obtainable at public auction, when the bids were successively enlarged, and a sum of money was paid into the revenue. The other was when the Company required for its own use supplies of the same article, when the bids were successively reduced, and something was saved to the revenue. Thus A might bid up to twenty-five pounds for the sole privilege of selling salt for a year to burghers at two pence, and to foreigners at three pence a kilogramme. B might bid down to a penny three farthings a kilogramme to supply the Company with beef, with the right to sell to burghers at four pence and to foreigners at seven pence a kilogramme. In each case the foreigner was taxed for the benefit of the Company. But where was this not the custom in those days?

The colony had now fairly commenced to expand, though its growth was necessarily slow. In 1681 several families were added to those already living in the Stellenbosch valley. That season the wheat crops there were so exceptionally good that for the first time the soldiers as well as the burghers could be supplied for several months with as much fresh bread as they needed, instead of the biscuits and rice to which they had been accustomed. The farmers had been permitted to select ground for themselves, but this liberty had given rise to various

disputes and contentions, to settle which the commander paid them a visit. His presence and the interest which he took in the welfare of all had the effect of restoring concord, and after fixing limits to each man's estate he arranged for a survey of the ground and the issue of title deeds.

The fruitfulness of the soil, as proved by the abundant crops, caused many of the most industrious individuals in Rondebosch and Wynberg to turn their attention towards Stellenbosch, and in May 1682, when the ploughing season commenced, a party of fifteen or sixteen farmers removed to the new district. But this year a plague appeared which caused much loss to the settlers, for the crops were attacked by prodigious swarms of small insects, which nearly destroyed them. On the same ground where in November 1681 the commander had counted one hundred and five grains of wheat in ear on a single stalk, in November 1682 there was hardly a sound ear to be seen. This plague continued for several successive seasons to inflict severe loss upon the farmers, though it was never again so destructive, and gradually it disappeared.

To provide for the settlement of trivial disputes between the burghers of the new district, a board of heemraden was established on the 30th of August 1682. This court consisted of four of the leading inhabitants, who held office for two years, without receiving salaries for their services. The powers of the board of heemraden were not at first very accurately defined, but its decisions appear in every instance to have been treated with respect. Two members retired annually, when the court itself sent to the council of policy a list of four new names from which to select successors. The first heemraden were Gerrit van der Byl, Henning Huising, Hans Jurgen Grimp, and Hendrik Elberts. At the end of 1683 the two first-named retired, when Douwe Steyn and Matthys Greef were elected to take their places. Grimp and Elberts retired at the end of 1684, and were succeeded by Jan Mostert and Hermanus Smit.

In 1683 the first school at Stellenbosch was established. On the 28th of September of that year the burghers presented a petition to the council of policy, in which they represented that there were then about thirty landowners in the district, many of whom had families, but as yet there was no school in which the children could be taught the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write, so that the young were in danger of growing up as barbarians; that they were living at too great a distance from the castle to be able to attend divine service on the Lord's days, and were thus liable to fall into careless habits; that on this account the condition of both young and old was very unsatisfactory, and if it continued God's blessing could not be expected upon themselves or their crops. They therefore requested that a suitable person should be appointed to keep a school, to read a sermon on Sundays, and to act as visitor of the sick. They asked further for some assistance towards the erection of the necessary building.

The council of policy viewed this petition with great favour. The members resolved at once to send masons and carpenters at the expense of the Company to put up a residence for the teacher with a large hall in it for a schoolroom, and also to supply the nails free of charge, the inhabitants providing the other materials. As soon as the building could be got ready a teacher was appointed, by name Sybrand Mankadan, and the school was opened. The commander took as warm an interest in it as did any of the parents, for he regarded Stellenbosch as a place of his own founding, and anything that tended to the welfare of its people secured his sympathy. It was his custom whenever it was possible to spend his birthday there. He usually arrived in the village a few days earlier, so as to have time to inspect all the improvements made during the preceding twelvemonth, to inquire after every one's prospects, and to make himself acquainted with all that was transpiring. On these occasions he did not fail to

visit the school and ascertain what progress the pupils were making. His birthday was, of course, a general holiday. Every man and woman in the district, dressed in their best, came to his pavilion to compliment him and to drink his health in a glass of wine. The school-children came also, marching in procession with Dominie Mankadan at their head, and carrying a banner which he had presented to them. Each was sure of a friendly greeting, and of receiving some little token of kindness. The boys over nine years of age were drilled every Saturday in the use of arms, and the juvenile corps always took part in the parade in honour of the commander.

The course of instruction at the school did not extend in secular subjects beyond reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, a large portion of the time being occupied with religious teaching. At the age of thirteen years the pupils were supposed to have completed their education. The standard aimed at was the ability to pass an examination before the consistory preparatory to being publicly admitted as members of the church. It was necessary to be able to read the Bible, to repeat the Heidelberg catechism, and to write a little. The pupils were also taught to sing psalms in the tunes then commonly used. At Christmas prizes were given at the expense of the Company. Each of the three most advanced and best behaved pupils received a prize of the value of four shillings, the next three carried off prizes valued at two shillings, and each of the others received one shilling in money. The commander added a cake for every child, the size to depend upon the merit of the recipient.

Dominie Mankadan, the first teacher at Stellenbosch, remained there in that capacity for many years. He acted also as sick-visitor and conducted divine service every Sunday. After a time he united with these duties that of district secretary, so that he was by no means an idle man. Yet his salary for all these services combined was only about fifty shillings a month, in addition

to which, however, he had a free house, a large garden, and some small school fees. Probably he was as well off with that trifling salary in those simple times as many district schoolmasters are at the present day, for there was no ordained chaplain in the Company's service who was paid more than ten pounds a month, and only a few old and tried men among them drew that amount.

In 1681 the Cape was first made a place of confinement for prisoners of state of high rank, who were sent into exile by the Indian authorities. Some Macassar princes with their families and attendants were at this time lodged in the castle, but owing to their violent conduct it afterwards became necessary to disperse them among the out-stations. As long as South Africa remained a dependency of the East India Company it continued to be used for this purpose, and many tragic narratives might be written in connection with the unfortunate exiles who were doomed to pass weary years in banishment here. Their treatment varied according to their offences.

The name of one of these prisoners is associated with an event which nearly caused a war between England and the Netherlands. It took place at Bantam, in the island of Java.

On the 1st of May 1680 Sultan Ageng, the last really independent prince in Java, resigned the government of Bantam to his son Abdol Kahar, commonly called the Sultan Hadji, on account of his having made a pilgrimage to Mecca. The young sovereign immediately formed a close alliance with the Dutch East India Company, between whom and the agents in Bantam of the English Company there was a strong feeling of jealousy. The English were as yet far behind the Dutch in foreign commerce, the tonnage of mercantile shipping which sailed out of English ports at this time being less than two-thirds of that which sailed out of the Netherlands; but in some parts of the Indies they were already formidable

rivals. The old sultan Ageng, after a brief period of retirement, began to regret the step he had taken, and in February 1682 he raised an army and endeavoured to drive his son from the throne. He was assisted by the English and Danes in the country, by his younger son Pourbaya, and above all, by the sheik Joseph, a Moslem religious teacher of great reputed sanctity and enormous influence.

Sultan Hadji was unable to hold his own against the forces of his father, so he shut himself up in a castle garrisoned by troops under command of a Netherlander named Jacob de Roy, and sent to Batavia to beg for help. The governor-general and council thereupon directed one of their officers, Isaac de St. Martin, to proceed to the relief of their ally with three hundred European soldiers and some native auxiliaries. De Roy, who was by calling a baker, but who had become by force of circumstances the chief military officer of the young sultan, managed to hold the castle of Soeroesoeang until the arrival of the Dutch troops, when at once the fortune of war was changed. Ageng was soon in the same position that his son had been in, reduced to the possession of a single stronghold. This he was obliged to abandon on the night of the 28th of December 1682, when he caused the building, which was the most beautiful edifice in the island, to be blown up; and he with a few followers sought concealment in a mountainous district. Ageng himself soon afterwards fell into his son's hands. He was treated with barbarous cruelty until the Dutch East India Company in pity came to his rescue, supplied him with a residence at Batavia, and provided for his decent maintenance until his death in 1695.

Sultan Hadji, in return for the assistance given, ceded to the Dutch East India Company a monopoly of the commerce of his dominions, thus excluding the English and the Danes. This affair caused great excitement in England, and many narratives of it in angry language were written and printed.

When Sultan Ageng surrendered, Sheik Joseph escaped, and for nearly another twelvemonth he kept the country in a disturbed condition. At length, at the close of 1683, he was obliged to abandon the unequal strife, and was induced to give himself up to the Dutch. The governor-general and council of India considered it unsafe to keep him in Java, as he was held in the highest veneration by the whole of the people, not only as a saint and a man of great ability, but as the last champion of Bantamese independence. He was therefore sent to Ceylon for a time, but in 1694 with his family and numerous attendants he was removed to the Cape Colony as a prisoner of state. On the 23rd of May 1699 he died, and was buried on the farm Zandvliet, in the district of Stellenbosch. During all the years that have since passed away, the Kramat, or tomb of Sheik Joseph, has been regarded by the Moslems as a holy place. It is kept in repair by a special custodian, who permits no one to enter the enclosure with covered feet. To it pilgrims wend their way, though few, if any, of them know the true history of him who was buried there. Various traditions, however, have gathered about his name, and it is commonly believed by those of his creed at the Cape that he performed many miracles. Thus it is asserted by them that when he was on the passage to this country the fresh water in the ship failed, upon which he dipped his foot in the sea and told the crew to replenish the casks, when to the amazement of all on board that which they took up in buckets was perfectly good to drink.

On the 16th of February 1682 the retired governor-general, Ryklof van Goens, arrived at the Cape on his way to Europe in pursuit of health. Though he was very feeble he managed to visit Stellenbosch, and to issue instructions upon a good many subjects. He directed that experiments should be made in the cultivation of flax, hemp, and indigo, but none of these were found on trial to answer sufficiently well to encourage the farmers to

undertake their growth. He strictly prohibited the planting of tobacco, lest it might interfere with the existing trade, from which a large profit was derived. The governor-general remained here until the end of April. Before embarking he ordered the 13th of May to be kept as a day of prayer that God would be pleased to avert warlike attacks and protect the homeward bound fleet. He died soon after his return to Europe. In the following year his widow called at the Cape on her way home, and was treated with all possible respect and attention.

On the night of the 8th of June 1682 the English Indiaman *Joanna*, from the Downs bound to Bengal, was wrecked nineteen kilometres to the westward of Cape Agulhas. One hundred and four of her crew saved themselves on a raft, the remainder were drowned. Those who reached the shore found themselves destitute of provisions, and were beginning to suffer from hunger when some Hottentots made their appearance who conducted them to the kraal of Captain Klaas. There they were supplied by this hospitable man with abundance of milk and meat as long as they remained, and were provided with food for the journey and guides to conduct them to the Cape. The master of the *Joanna*, who was too infirm to walk any farther, stayed behind as the guest of Klaas until a waggon could be sent for him. The shipwrecked seamen met with equal kindness from the Company's officers. They were comfortably lodged and furnished with provisions until they could get away. The *Joanna* had a large amount of specie on board, and as the wreck could be reached with a boat in calm weather a party of men was sent from the Cape to try to recover it. They succeeded only in getting coin to the value of a little over two thousand four hundred pounds sterling, but a considerable quantity of cargo and wreckage which was washed ashore was also secured.

With the growth of the settlement, it was found that too much of the time of the high court of justice was

taken up with hearing petty civil cases, and it was therefore decided to establish an inferior court to have jurisdiction within the Cape district. This court was to be composed of four members, two of whom were to be servants of the Company, and two burghers. It was to sit at least once a week, and had power to adjudicate in all cases wherein the amount in dispute was less than twenty pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence sterling. For convenience sake it was arranged that the last retired burgher councillor could at any time take a seat instead of one of the burgher members. The body thus constituted was termed the court of commissioners for petty cases. It was first established on the 31st of August 1682.

The specimens of copper ore brought to the Cape by the Namaqua visitors in 1681 excited the curiosity of the directors to know more about the country in which the metal was found, and instructions were sent to Commander Van der Stel to cause it to be carefully explored. At the end of October 1682 an expedition consisting of thirty soldiers, a journalist, and a chart-maker, under command of Ensign Olof Bergh, was despatched for that purpose, but after a month's absence it returned with a report that the country was so parched with drought that it was impossible to proceed.

The attempt was renewed on a larger scale in the following year. On the 27th of August 1683 an expedition better equipped than any that had previously left the Cape set out for the Namaqua country. It consisted of forty-two Europeans—among whom were draughtsmen, miners, and journalists—and ten Hottentots, all under command of Ensign Olof Bergh. It was provisioned for four months. It had a train of waggons and carts to convey its supplies as far as possible, two boats, so that no delay need be caused by swollen rivers, and a herd of pack oxen and five horses for use when the waggons could get no farther. The expedition proceeded by the

way of Riebeek's Kasteel to the Berg river, which was found too deep to be forded. The boats were then brought into service, and after everything was ferried over the march was resumed. At the Elephant river it was the same. There a camp was formed, as the boats would not be needed again. Across this river a party of Grigriquas was encountered, and with them were four or five Namaquas who offered to act as guides. Soon after this a sterile district was entered, but they pushed on until they reached the nearest of the Namaqua kraals. Close to the kraal was a high mountain, from the top of which the Atlantic could be seen at no great distance. Beyond it to the north the whole country was a desert without grass or water, for rain had only fallen once within the preceding twelve months. It was impossible to get any farther. The ensign was obliged to retrace his steps, and on the 24th of October he reported at the castle that the expedition had failed.

In February 1684 a party of Namaquas visited the Cape, and when they returned Sergeant Izaak Schryver with fifteen soldiers and three miners was sent with them. The sergeant succeeded very little better than Ensign Bergh, though he managed to proceed somewhat farther and to collect from the people he visited a number of pieces of copper ore which he brought back on a pack ox. This ore was melted in crucibles, and the pure metal was sent as a specimen to the directors.

In 1683 a tract of ground at Klapmuts was turned into a stock-farm for the Company's use, so that the cattle kept at Hottentots-Holland might have a change of pasture. In 1684 the Company discontinued sending trading expeditions to purchase cattle, and handed over that business to Captain Klaas, who bought up large herds at very low rates upon receiving one head for himself out of every five. By this agency so many oxen and sheep were obtained that it was necessary to select fresh stock-farms. The Company, therefore, formed outposts at the Kuilen, Diep

River, Visser's Hok, and Rietvlei. At each of these places four or five soldiers and a few slaves were stationed, the same as at Hottentots-Holland, Tigerberg, and Klapmuts. Burghers who could be induced to become cattle farmers could now be supplied with as many cows and ewes as they needed, and they had further the protection and companionship which the new outposts afforded.

The office of secunde had for some time been vacant, owing to Hendrik Crudop having been advanced to a higher post in India, when in June 1684 the assembly of seventeen appointed the fiscal Andries de Man to it.

In October 1684 Ryklof van Goens the younger, ordinary councillor of India, and previously governor of Ceylon, arrived in South Africa, on his way from Europe to the East, and assumed authority here above that of the commander. He remained in this colony until the following May, but as he was an invalid during the whole of that period he seldom left his room in the government country house Rustenburg, where he resided. He made some changes in the official staff by the promotion of the clerk Jan Willem de Grevenbroek to be secretary of the council, and the bookkeeper Cornelis Linnes to be chief salesman. He also appointed the junior merchant Albert van Breugel to act as fiscal, but this officer was obliged soon afterwards to resign the situation to Jan van Keulen, who was sent out by the supreme authorities. To all the officers in the Company's service who desired it he allotted ground for cultivation, but titles were not to be issued until the directors should approve of the measure. To Adriaan van der Stel, a son of the commander, he granted several exclusive privileges. This young man had been issuer of stores,* but he now became a burgher, and obtained a grant of land in full property. The right to put up a fowling net, within two kilometres of which no one was to shoot, nor

* Shortly after this Adriaan van der Stel entered the Company's service again. He rose to be governor of Amboina and councillor extraordinary of Netherlands India.

was anyone else to put up another within a distance of five hours' journey, the right to catch fish in False Bay without payment of taxes, the right to shoot all kinds of game and birds, were privileges granted by Mr. Van Goens to his favourite, and at his instance approved of by the council.

These monopolies naturally caused dissatisfaction to the other burghers. The commander Van der Stel himself was beloved by all, and no one would have thought of offending him, but from this time it began to be freely said that the sons were not likely to follow in the father's footsteps. The privilege of shooting game at any time and in any quantity was regarded as particularly unfair to other farmers, because they were all bound by stringent regulations to kill nothing without special permission, and no one of them was ever allowed to shoot more in a year than a single rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, an eland, and a hartebeest, for his own family's consumption.

In the year 1684 the first exportation of grain from South Africa took place. The crops of that season were very good, and the insect scourge had been less destructive than usual. To encourage the growth of grain, the governor-general Van Goens had relieved the burghers from payment of tithes for two years, and this had the desired effect. In February and March, after the harvest was gathered, fifteen hundred muids of wheat were brought by the farmers for sale, so that there was more than sufficient for the supply of the garrison. A quantity of rye was also stored in the magazines, and of this grain twenty-five muids were sent to India. This export, small as it may seem, shows, as the commander exultingly wrote, that the settlement was no longer dependent upon foreign countries for its food.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SIMON VAN DER STEL'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

In October 1684 the assembly of seventeen appointed a commission of three members to examine into the affairs of their possessions in Hindostan and Ceylon, and at its head they placed an officer with very extensive powers. His name was Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, but he was commonly known by his title of lord of Mydrecht. He had previously served the Company in various capacities, and had only recently filled the post of councillor of India. In the administration of affairs in Hindostan and Ceylon various abuses had crept in, which the directors considered could only be rectified by some one on the spot possessing unbounded authority and without any interests to serve other than those of duty. The high commissioner had power given to him to appoint or displace governors and admirals as well as officers of lower rank, to proclaim new laws, to issue new regulations concerning trade, to create new offices and to abolish old ones, to enter into treaties with native rulers, in short, to do anything he might think advisable in the Company's interests.

Before leaving Europe he was instructed to rectify anything he might find amiss at the Cape, where also he was to exercise supreme power as representing the assembly of seventeen. Some of the changes which he effected here as well as elsewhere were afterwards found not to be improvements, but at the time he made them the Netherlands were only beginning to acquire experience

in the government of colonies. Nearly all was as yet experiment, and it would have been surprising indeed if every experiment had been wise and successful.

The high commissioner arrived in Table Bay on the 19th of April 1685, and remained here until the 16th of July, during which time he put in force a great number of regulations. A few days after his arrival he issued a notice calling upon all persons who had complaints or grievances to make them known, so that he might rectify whatever was felt to be oppressive. He then proceeded to examine the constitution of the various public bodies, and to inquire into their efficiency. The result of this was that the church council, the board of militia, the matrimonial court, the orphan chamber, and the court of commissioners for petty cases were approved of as they existed, and no alterations were made in any of them.

The council of policy was enlarged so as to consist of eight members, and seats in it were assigned to the commander as president, the secunde, the two military officers highest in rank, the fiscal, the treasurer, the chief salesman, and the garrison bookkeeper. This council was never again enlarged during the government of the East India Company, though the officers who had seats in it were not always those who held the situations here named. The secretary at this time had no vote, but merely kept a record of the debates and resolutions.

The high court of justice was reconstituted, and was made to consist of the following members: the commander, Simon van der Stel, president; the secunde, Andries de Man; the captain, Hieronymus Cruse; the lieutenant, Olof Bergh; the junior merchant, Albert van Breugel; the chief salesman, Cornelis Linnes; the garrison bookkeeper, Jan Hendrik Blum; the secretary of the council of policy, Melchior Kemels; and the two oldest burgher councillors. Jan Blesius was appointed secretary, but had no voice in the proceedings. The fiscal appeared in this court as public prosecutor.

In the court at Stellenbosch great alterations were made. It was in future to be presided over by an officer called a landdrost, who was also to have supervision of the Company's farms and out-stations, and who was generally to look after the Company's interests. This officer was to have two Europeans to assist him, and was to be provided with a horse and a slave. He was to receive £2 a month as salary and 16*s.* as maintenance allowance. In the court of landdrost and heemraden civil cases under £2 1*s.* 8*d.* were to be decided finally, but where amounts between that sum and £10 were in question there was to be a right of appeal to the high court of justice. No case could be heard where the amount in dispute exceeded £10. The court of landdrost and heemraden was to hold monthly sessions for the trial of civil cases. It was to preserve order, and was also to act as a district council, in which capacity it was to see to the repair of roads, the distribution of water, the destruction of noxious animals, and various other matters. It was to raise a revenue by erecting a mill to grind corn, by collecting annually a tax from the inhabitants, which was fixed by the council of policy in the following year at 1*s.* 4½*d.* for every hundred sheep or twenty head of large cattle owned in the district, and by sundry other small imposts. Further, it was to have power to compel the inhabitants to supply waggons, cattle, slaves, and their own labour for public purposes.

On the 16th of July the high commissioner appointed Jan Mulder, a Netherlander of good reputation, first landdrost of Stellenbosch, and named the burghers Gerrit van der Byl, Henning Huising, Jan Mostert, and Hermanus Smit as heemraden. No territorial limits were assigned to the jurisdiction of the landdrost, and as the Company's outposts at Diep River, Visser's Hok, and Rietvlei, as well as those at Hottentots-Holland, Kuilen, Klapmuts, and Saldanha Bay were placed under his inspection, the district of Stellenbosch for some years included the whole country beyond the Cape peninsula.

Prior to this date, the laws concerning the treatment and manumission of slaves were somewhat vague. Emancipation was very common before 1682, and the directors at one time even contemplated the location of a large body of freed slaves at some place where agriculture could be carried on. They despaired of getting a sufficient number of European colonists, and thought by this means to secure a supply of refreshments for their fleets. But the individuals emancipated had in most instances fallen into idle and depraved habits, in the end becoming burdensome as vagrants or paupers, so that when the governor-general Van Goens was here a regulation was made that no more heathens were to be manumitted except for very good reasons, and that all freedmen of this class who would not earn an honest living were to be consigned again to slavery.

A profession of Christianity and an ability to speak Dutch were, however, still considered sufficient reasons for claiming freedom, and no slaveholder could have an infant black baptized without promising to educate it as a Christian and to manumit it. This was a regulation made by the ecclesiastical council of Batavia, who wrote that "it was the custom in India to baptize children of unbelieving parents if the Christians who presented them for baptism bound themselves to bring them up as their own, to educate them as Christians, and if they were slaves to manumit them." In those days nearly every one believed it his duty to have his slave children baptized, and hence those who were born in this colony usually became free. But these were few in number, because nearly all the slaves brought from abroad were males. They were not all imported in Dutch bottoms, for though foreigners were debarred from selling merchandise in bulk at the Cape, an exception was occasionally made in their favour when their cargoes consisted of stout negroes.

The laws made by the high commissioner regarding emancipation were as follow:—

Every male half-breed could claim freedom as a right at the age of twenty-five years, and every female half-breed at the age of twenty-two years, provided only that he or she professed Christianity, was baptized, and spoke the Dutch language.

Slaves imported from abroad, whether male or female, after thirty years' service, and negro slaves born at the Cape, at the age of forty years, were to have their freedom as a favour, not as a right, upon payment of £8 6*s.* 8*d.*, provided they professed Christianity and spoke Dutch. Each case was to be considered on its own merits, so that well-conducted slaves might be emancipated, and those of bad character be kept under control of a master.

Slave children under twelve years of age were to be sent to school, where they were to be taught the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write and to conduct themselves respectfully towards their superiors. Slaves over twelve years of age were to be allowed two afternoons in the week for the purpose of being instructed in the Christian religion. The females were to be taught by themselves. All were to attend the church services twice on Sundays, and in the afternoon when the sermon was ended the clergyman was to require them to repeat the Heidelberg catechism. As schoolmaster for the slaves, a well-behaved mulatto named Jan Pasqual, of Batavia, was appointed, and as schoolmistress Margaret, a freedwoman of the Cape.

Marriage between Europeans and freed slaves of full colour was prohibited, but Europeans and half-breeds could marry if they chose.

It was a common occurrence for slaves to desert from service and lead lawless lives thereafter, sometimes even forming themselves into bands and maintaining themselves by robbery. Care was to be taken not to drive them to such a course by cruel treatment. But fugitives who were captured were to be severely flogged and heavily chained as a warning to others.

Slaves belonging to private persons could be moderately punished, but were not to be tied up and flogged without an order from the fiscal and the consent of the commander. This consent, however, was not to be refused if a crime deserving such punishment had been committed, for it was not meant that the slaves should be allowed to become unruly, but that they should be protected from the caprice of harsh and cruel masters.

Concerning the treatment of the Hottentots, the high commissioner laid down some general regulations, but made no definite laws. There was at the time a very friendly feeling between them and the Europeans. The different chiefs and their people came to the castle to trade in perfect security, and as yet there was no lack of pasture for the use of all. On one occasion, indeed, Schacher trespassed upon the ground where the Company made its hay at the Tigerberg, but upon being requested to move he did so very civilly. Gonnema had failed to pay his tribute, and it was not thought necessary to irritate him by speaking about it any longer. Klaas was so anxious to serve the Europeans that on one of his trading expeditions just before the commissioner arrived he took by force the cattle of the Goringhaiquas because they declined to part with any in barter. The injured people appealed to the commander for protection, and obtained justice. On another occasion the young men of Schacher's clan rebelled against their chief. Schacher and the old men who adhered to him thereupon went to the castle, when the rebels were summoned to appear, and by the commander's mediation peace was restored in the clan. Thefts were not unusual, but robbery with violence was seldom committed except by Bushmen. When it was, and the perpetrators could be discovered, the chiefs were always ready to punish them. At this very time four Hottentots were convicted of the murder of a Dutch servant, and were executed by being beaten

to death with clubs by their own people. The Company's interests, however, were always regarded as having a preference above those of the barbarous inhabitants. For instance, in August 1684 three dead whales drifted up on the beach, when a party of Hottentots began to feast upon them, but were driven away by the commander's instructions, in order that the oil might be secured.

The high commissioner directed that nothing should be done to disturb the peaceful and friendly intercourse then existing. He thought it was wisdom to keep the clans in a condition of jealousy, but not to allow them to fight or to plunder one another. The Company was desirous of increasing the number of colonists, and therefore it would be necessary to occupy more land. But it would not be just to take the pasture from the Hottentots in such a manner as to expel them or to force them to make war upon those farther away. The commissioner was an upright and humane man; his remarks on the land question are those of a philanthropist. But here he was confronted with a great difficulty. How could colonists be introduced without expelling the earlier occupiers? There was only one way, and that was by inducing the Hottentots to adopt other habits, to cease being nomads. The lord of Mydrecht directed that efforts should gradually be made by means of presents to induce them to consent to have certain boundaries laid down, so that both they and the Europeans might have their grounds defined. In other words, his idea was to persuade them to retire within certain reserves.

This plan was thereafter kept in view, though it was not carried out in the neighbourhood of the Cape until more than thirty years after the instructions of the high commissioner were issued, because there was no necessity for restricting the liberty of the Hottentots to wander wherever the ground was not cultivated.

The greatest abuse which was at this time prevalent in the East India Company's possessions arose from the

private trade carried on by the officers of government. Their salaries were miserably small, but they were permitted to supplement them by buying and selling to a limited extent on their own account any articles except spices. The object in granting this liberty was to attach them to the Company's service, but in many instances it had developed into a struggle on their part to amass wealth at the cost of their employers. In some of the eastern dependencies the whole machinery of government was thrown out of working order by the rapacity of the officer who had the greatest amount of power. Various plans were from time to time suggested for the rectification of this abuse, but none of them succeeded. No mean could be found between absolute prohibition of private trade and its enlargement into rivalry of the Company's own commerce.

At the Cape there was not as yet an opportunity for the officers of government to carry on business on their own account, except in a very small way, and they had therefore seldom been content to remain here. To go to the East, where fortunes were to be made, was the aim of their ambition. As a remedy, the high commissioner approved of a grant of land in full property being made to each of them, that they might carry on farming and sell their produce to the Company on the same terms as the burghers. There was no likelihood of rivalry, he thought, because the demand in India for various products was much greater than any supply the Cape could be made to yield. Subsequent events proved how greatly he was mistaken, but at this time no one objected to the experiment being tried.

The commander Van der Stel selected for himself a tract of land next to the last farm that was occupied at Wynberg. Most of the burghers who had once been living on that side of the mountain had removed to Stellenbosch, so that there were then only twenty-four families remaining between this ground and the castle.

The boundaries chosen were agreed to by the high commissioner, a surveyor was instructed to measure the land and make a chart of it without delay, and on the 13th of July the title was issued. In it the commissioner granted to Simon van der Stel eight hundred and ninety-one morgen, three hundred and eighty roods, and fifty-eight square feet of ground, to be held by him in full property. This farm the commander named Constantia.

For several years a number of miners had been engaged in searching about the Cape for valuable ores. Before 1671 the country as far as Riebeek's Kasteel was examined for this purpose, but the search was then abandoned, and it was not resumed until the specimens of copper ore from Namaqualand attracted attention. The directors then sent out a party of men under the master miners Frederick Mattheus van Werlinghof and Gabriel Muller, with instructions to cause a thorough search to be made. The miners were divided into two parties, one of which examined the country around Stellenbosch, the other the mountains along the Cape peninsula. In several places they sank pits forty-nine or fifty metres deep, in one —at the Steenberg—fifty-five metres deep, but without finding anything until the beginning of the year 1685, when great expectations were raised by the discovery in large quantities of a new kind of mineral. Neither the miners nor any one else at the Cape could say what it was, but it was assumed by all to be valuable.

Some thought it was gold, others silver, others a kind of copper. There is little doubt that it was only manganese. In February four packets of the ore, each of fifty pounds (22·7 kilogrammes) weight, were sent to the directors, and when the high commissioner was here its value was not yet ascertained. He therefore gave instructions for the miners to continue their work, and he further authorised the commander, who was very anxious to undertake this duty, to proceed in person to examine the copper mountains of Namaqualand.

The high commissioner added another item of revenue to those already existing. He ordered that whenever landed property was sold, two and a half per cent of the purchase money should be paid to the government. If such property changed hands within three years of the first grant of it by the Company ten per cent was to be paid, or half that amount if it was sold before the grantee had been in possession of it ten years. No transfer of land was to be valid until these dues were paid.

He fixed the price to be given in cash for wheat at fifteen shillings the muid of eighty kilogrammes, that being in his opinion the highest rate at which it could be sent to India with advantage to the Company. But he instructed the commander to receive it at sixteen shillings and eight pence the muid in payment of debt or in exchange for goods.

Some other regulations, but only of temporary importance, were made by the high commissioner during his stay at the Cape. The orders which he issued were laws in a different sense from those of the ordinary commissioners who visited the settlement. Their instructions could be repealed by their successors or by the Indian authorities, but the laws made by the lord of Mydrecht could only be reversed by the assembly of seventeen. Several of his regulations remained in force during the whole period of the East India Company's rule in South Africa.

On the 16th of July, having established the government here, as he believed, on a satisfactory footing, he left for India, when the commander and council, whose authority had been in abeyance while he was present, again assumed the direction of affairs.

As soon as the lord of Mydrecht left South Africa, the commander began to make ready for the expedition to Namaqualand which that officer had sanctioned. He had long been anxious to make an inspection of the country from which the specimens of copper ore had been brought,

but it would have been contrary to established rules for him to have gone so far from the castle without special permission. The arrangements were completed by the 25th of August 1685, and on the morning of that day the baggage waggons were sent forward, the commander himself following on horseback in the afternoon. The secunde Andries de Man, Captain Hieronymus Cruse, and some other members of the council rode with the commander until they overtook the advance party, when his Honour was saluted with three rounds of discharges from the muskets of the whole company.

The train as now completed consisted of fifteen waggons, each drawn by eight oxen, eight carts, and one coach. Of the waggons, eight belonged to burghers, and it was intended to take them no farther than the Elephant river. There were two hundred spare oxen, most of them trained to carry burdens on their backs, thirteen horses, and eight mules. There was a boat for the purpose of crossing the Berg and Elephant rivers, and there were two small cannons to impress the Hottentots with proper respect for the power of the Europeans. The travelling party consisted of Commander Van der Stel, with three slaves as personal attendants, fifty-six Europeans of various callings, including soldiers, a Macassar prisoner of state, named Dain Bengale or Manalle, with a slave as his attendant, forty-six drivers and leaders, mostly of mixed blood, and a number of Hottentots to serve as interpreters. Even to-day the train would form an imposing sight, and it must have been considered a very grand spectacle by those who saw it moving slowly northward in that eventful year 1685.

At the Tigerberg the kraals of Schacher and Kuiper were passed, the last of whom presented the commander with an ox for slaughter, according to the Hottentot custom of treating visitors of rank. The country was covered with grass, which has long since disappeared, and with beautiful flowers of many colours, such as are yet

to be seen in the months of August and September. Keeping down the valley of the Berg river, which was found tenantless, Paardenberg, Dassenberg, and Riebeek's Kasteel were passed, while bounding the view on the right was a range of rocky mountains, inhabited solely by Bushmen. These Bushmen lived by the chase and plunder, but savage as they were they have left memorials of their existence in rude paintings upon the rocks, which are still as perfect as if the pigments had been laid on but yesterday.

On the 31st the expedition reached the Sonqua ford of the Berg river, but as the commander preferred to keep along the western bank, he did not cross there. About Twenty-four Rivers and the Honey mountains, many Bushman huts were seen, but no people. These huts were merely branches of trees fastened together and covered with loose reeds. Farther down two kraals of Cochoquas were passed. On the evening of the 2nd of September an encampment was formed at the Misverstand ford, and next morning at daybreak, after prayers had been said and a psalm sung as usual, the boat was put upon the river and a commencement was made in ferrying the baggage across. Two days were occupied in transferring the camp to the other bank. At this place a trading party—which had been sent in advance to purchase slaughter oxen and sheep—joined the expedition with an ample supply.

On the second day five Bushmen were seen, who took to flight as soon as they observed the Europeans, but upon a sergeant and two men being sent after them with a present of pipes and tobacco, they were induced to return. They stated that they were Sonquas and lived upon honey and such game as they could shoot, and that they were then following up an eland which they had wounded with a poisoned arrow the day before, and which would die about that time. They were armed with assagais and bows and arrows. Their skins were

covered with scurf, as they had undergone great want some time before, and were without grease to rub upon themselves. The commander made them a present of a sheep, which they immediately killed, and they did not cease eating until every particle of the meat and entrails was consumed. They rejected nothing except the gall and four little pieces from the thighs, which they said it was not their custom to eat. They cooked the flesh by laying it in hot ashes. In return for the commander's kindness, they presented to him three wild cats' skins which they had with them.

On the day after leaving the river, when near the Piketberg, an incident occurred which nearly cost the commander his life. Of a sudden an enormous rhinoceros rushed through the middle of the train, and then charged the carriage in which his Honour was seated. The commander sprang out, upon which the rhinoceros made towards him, but was fortunately turned just in time by a ball. The brute then charged in the direction of some horsemen, who in their fright threw themselves from their saddles to the ground and were severely bruised. The cause of the confusion did no further harm, however, but rushed away with incredible swiftness, followed by a volley of musket balls fired at random. Owing to this incident the place received the name Rhenoster Rug.

At the Piketberg the grass was observed to be very rich, and there was timber in abundance in the kloofs, as well as thorn trees for fuel in plenty along the banks of the rivulets. At one encampment an eland weighing four hundred and sixty kilogrammes was shot, from which circumstance the place was called Elands Vlakte.

On the 9th of September the Little Elephant river was reached, and the train followed its course through a district which was little better than a solitary wilderness, but where some elephants were seen. On the 14th a hill was passed, which was named Uilenberg, on account of

the great number of owls found there. At this place a fountain of sweet water was discovered and named Klipfontein, and a remarkable echo which the hill gave back was noticed. The next encampment was at the foot of Dassenberg,* in a spot where there was abundance of wood, water, grass, and game. On the 15th the train passed through Pickenier's Kloof and moved on to the Elephant river, where preparations were made for crossing.

The banks of the river were found to be clothed with willow and thorn trees, and in its waters were fish of large size and good flavour. A kraal of Grigriquas (called in other places Chariguriquas and Gierigriquas) was met with, and it was ascertained that Sonquas were numerous along the whole course of the stream. The burghers now turned back, having first obtained permission from the commander to load their waggons with the flesh of elands, rhinoceroses, and seacows on their homeward journey. It occupied three days to get everything across the river, and in the afternoon of the 18th the train again moved on.

It was by this time evident that the season was an exceptionally favourable one for exploration. In the north, after four years of drought, heavy and continuous rains had fallen, so that there was good hope of meeting with grass and water in the country to be traversed. Where the surgeon Van Meerhof in bygone years, and the ensign Bergh only recently, had found bare and parched ravines, there were now streams of water a metre in depth. Animal life was abundant. The day after crossing the river quails in great number were met with, which the Hottentot interpreters knocked over with great dexterity by throwing knobbed sticks at them when on the wing. Hares and antelopes of different kinds were seen sporting about in grass half a metre high, and were some-

*The Dutch were in the habit of giving the same names to different places, which often causes much confusion. The Dassenberg here mentioned must not be confounded with the one named on page 280.

times secured for the table. The whole party was in excellent health and spirits. Every morning and evening they sang a psalm, listened to a chapter of the Bible, and repeated a prayer, no one but the cattle herds being permitted to be absent on these occasions. When on the march, a party rode on ahead to select the best paths and the most suitable places for encamping. And when a halt was called, and the cattle were turned loose to graze, the scene resembled a pleasure excursion of a picnic party. If the sun was bright an awning was spread for the commander's use, and if it was dull a tent was pitched; in either case the Batavian tricolour being hoisted in front, and the pennant of the honourable East India Company floating above.

On the 20th the expedition halted in a narrow valley, with the Elephant river on one side of the camp and a rocky mountain on the other. In this neighbourhood most of the Grigriquas were then living, and as a quarrel had broken out among them, in which a section of the clan had rebelled against the chief, the commander was detained four days in making peace. He succeeded in reconciling the belligerents, and in purchasing a number of cattle from them. On the 26th the mountain called Meerhof's Kasteel was passed. The country was now becoming every day more barren in appearance. There was plenty of water, though it was strongly impregnated with salt, and there was a sufficiency of grass for the cattle, but there was no wood for fuel. The only inhabitants were Bushmen.

On the 29th the Little Doorn Bosch river was reached, and from an eminence the sea was visible at a distance of about twenty-eight English miles or forty-five kilometres. The following day an encampment was made at the Great Doorn Bosch river, which was found a deep and rapid stream with numerous trees on its banks. Here some Bushmen were seen, and after a little scheming were induced to visit the camp, where they were presented with

a sheep and a flask of brandy. They were wretchedly thin, for they were living upon nothing better than tortoises, caterpillars, locusts, and bulbs of wild plants. They made very merry over the feast provided for them, and danced and sang right joyfully. The treatment they received was so much to their liking that for some days they accompanied the expedition, making themselves useful as guides.

On the 4th of October the commander was informed by the Bushmen that there were some Namaqua kraals in the neighbourhood, whereupon a halt was made at a place where there was plenty of grass and water, and four Hottentots were sent with pipes and tobacco as presents to the chiefs. A full week was spent here in making inquiries concerning the country, and in arranging treaties with the chiefs, of whom there were six, over as many kraals. The intercourse was very friendly except with two or three individuals, but the commander asserted and maintained a position of authority, to which they submitted without question. He entertained the chiefs and their wives with European food, but pleased them more by supplying them with a little brandy and tobacco.

On the 11th the march was resumed. The country was now found to be so rugged that progress was very difficult. Fortunately there were water and grass, and Captain Oedeson, who claimed the Copper mountain, and some other Namaquas acted as guides. Along the route various kraals were passed, and at nearly every halting place fresh visitors were found. With all the chiefs treaties of peace and friendship were made, and they further promised not to quarrel with each other or with the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape, the commander on his part undertaking to prevent these last named from attacking or molesting them in any manner, so that they could trade with the Company without let or hindrance.

Sunday, the 14th of October, was the commander's birthday, and in compliment to him the camp, which was in a good position, was not broken up. The cannons were taken from the waggons and loaded, and at noon three volleys of musketry were fired by the whole company, each volley being followed by the discharge of a cannon. There was a large party of Namaquas present, and they arranged a dance, which was their manner of complimenting persons of rank. Twenty men formed a circle, each having a reed in his hand. The reeds were of various sizes and lengths, so that different notes were sounded by blowing into them. A master musician stood in the centre, having in his hand a long rod with which he gave directions, singing a tune and beating time with his foot as well. The players kept leaping up and down, but produced music which surprised the Europeans by its harmony and power. Outside was a deep circle of men and women, dancing and clapping their hands in time with the music. This entertainment continued until evening, when the commander had an ox slaughtered for his visitors, and distributed a small keg of arrack among them.

The commander here began to obtain information concerning the great river to the north. Many of his visitors had been to it, and they all described it as being about ten days' journey beyond the Copper mountain, as running towards the setting sun, and as being very wide and deep, with banks clothed with large trees. Some of them produced a quantity of glittering sand which they stated they had brought from it. According to the accounts received, the commander conjectured that it must enter the sea about the latitude of the gulf of Voltas of the charts, which is really the correct position of its mouth.

The 15th of October was spent in bartering cattle, and on the 16th the train moved forward. For five days after this the track was through a rugged country, where the

waggons and carts were often overturned and where progress was extremely difficult. But on the 21st the commander's perseverance was rewarded, for on the afternoon of that day the camp was pitched at the Copper mountain, the place he had so long desired to see. He calculated that he had travelled five hundred and eighty-seven kilometres from the castle, and that he had reached the latitude of 29° S. This was not quite correct, owing to the means at the command of the expedition for determining latitudes being faulty. In reality the Copper mountain is more than half a degree farther south. The distance from the castle in a straight line is about three hundred English miles or four hundred and eighty-three kilometres, and the direction is a very little to the westward of north.

A fortnight was now occupied in getting out ore and examining the country around. It was found to be a very uninviting district. The Namaquas who were with the party acted as guides and gave all the information they possessed, which was indeed not very much. Aloes were found in abundance, but wood for fuel was very scarce. Barren mountains, naked rocks, and desolate wastes made up the scenery. But copper ore was discovered in great quantities and of surprising richness.

The next object of the commander was to explore the country between the Copper mountain and the sea, and on the 5th of November the camp was broken up for that purpose. A direct route was impracticable, and the expedition was compelled to return some distance to the south before a pathway to the shore could be found. Travelling had now become very difficult. The beds of the rivulets were dried up and baked as hard as brick. Water was rarely met with, and when the guides pointed it out it was so salt that it could hardly be used. The Namaquas—even Captain Oedeson himself, once the most friendly of them all—grew very anxious to hasten southward, and became sulky and stubborn when their wishes

were disregarded. But the work of exploration was only half performed, and until the coast and intervening country was thoroughly examined the commander was unwilling to retreat.

On the twelfth day after leaving the Copper mountain an advance party on foot reached the sea, but it was not until the 22nd of November that the whole expedition encamped at the mouth of a river then nearly dry. Along the shore of the Atlantic much driftwood was seen, in which were many large trees that came, as the Namaquas stated, from the great river of the north. From this circumstance the commander concluded that the river could not be far off, but he was at that time unable to obtain any additional information concerning it, though among the Namaquas with him were some whose usual place of residence was on its banks. One thing, however, was now certain. There was no town of Vigiti Magna. And as this great river of which he had heard so much certainly did not correspond with the Camissa of the old geographers, it would require another name. Thenceforth it was called by Europeans the river Vigiti Magna, until it obtained from the farmers in the next century the name of the Groote, and from Colonel Gordon that of the Orange. The people who lived upon its banks near the sea, though they were clans of the Nama tribe, were named by Commander Van der Stel Camissons, after the Camissa which was now to be removed from the charts.

The place where the expedition was encamped was nearly a degree farther south than the Copper mountain. From the 22nd of November until the 12th of December the time was spent in endeavouring to proceed to the north. A heavy surf was rolling in on the beach, and not a single harbour could be discovered suitable for large vessels to anchor in. One little cove was visited, which was partly protected from the swell of the sea by reefs of rocks that ran out from each side nearly across its entrance, leaving a narrow but deep passage about the

centre where boats and small cutters could get in and out. The cove was capable of containing two or three decked boats in a tolerable condition of security, and there was a smooth sandy beach that extended half round it, upon which the sea did not break in calm weather, but no fresh water could be found in the neighbourhood.* Parties of men were sent out in all directions to examine the country. One of these proceeded along the coast until the officer in command thought he had reached the position of Angra das Voltas on the charts, but he was in reality still fully a hundred and twelve kilometres from it. The Buffalo river was explored a considerable distance upward from its mouth. It was so called on account of some Bushmen stating that they had once seen two buffaloes upon its banks.

Meanwhile the cattle were becoming weak, and were suffering terribly from the scarcity of water. Some of them ran into the sea and drank, and immediately afterwards died. The exploring parties were at times reduced to great distress from the same cause. It was evident that everything had been done that was possible, and so on the 12th of December, to the great joy of every one, the commander gave the order to turn homeward. It took the expedition eighteen days to get back to the Elephant river, and they were days of anxiety and suffering. The heat of the sun exhausted both man and beast. Water was so scarce that at times forced marches had to be made at night to reach a pool which after all would only afford a litre or two for each ox. The little that was obtainable was so bitter with salt as to be nauseous. On the last march some of the cattle lay down exhausted, and were only recovered by sending water back to them in kegs. Four days were spent at the Elephant river refreshing the worn-out animals, during which time the

*This cove is now known as Hondeklip Bay, a name given to it at a much later date from a prominent rock on the coast just south of it, which as seen from the sea resembles a crouching dog.

stream was explored some distance upward, and downward to its mouth.

The difficulties of the journey were now over. There was plenty of grass and water in front, and every part of the route was well known. Nothing remained to be done in the way of exploration except to examine a part of the coast. This the commander did, and made a careful inspection of the inlet now known as Lambert's Bay. At the Little Elephant river the Cochoqua kraals were met with, and the men were found with their heads shaved clean as a mark of mourning. They stated that it was on account of the death of the old chief Gonnema, which had recently taken place. At their request, the commander confirmed his son as his successor. Nothing further of any lasting interest occurred on the homeward journey, which ended by the safe arrival of the expedition at the castle on the 26th of January 1686.

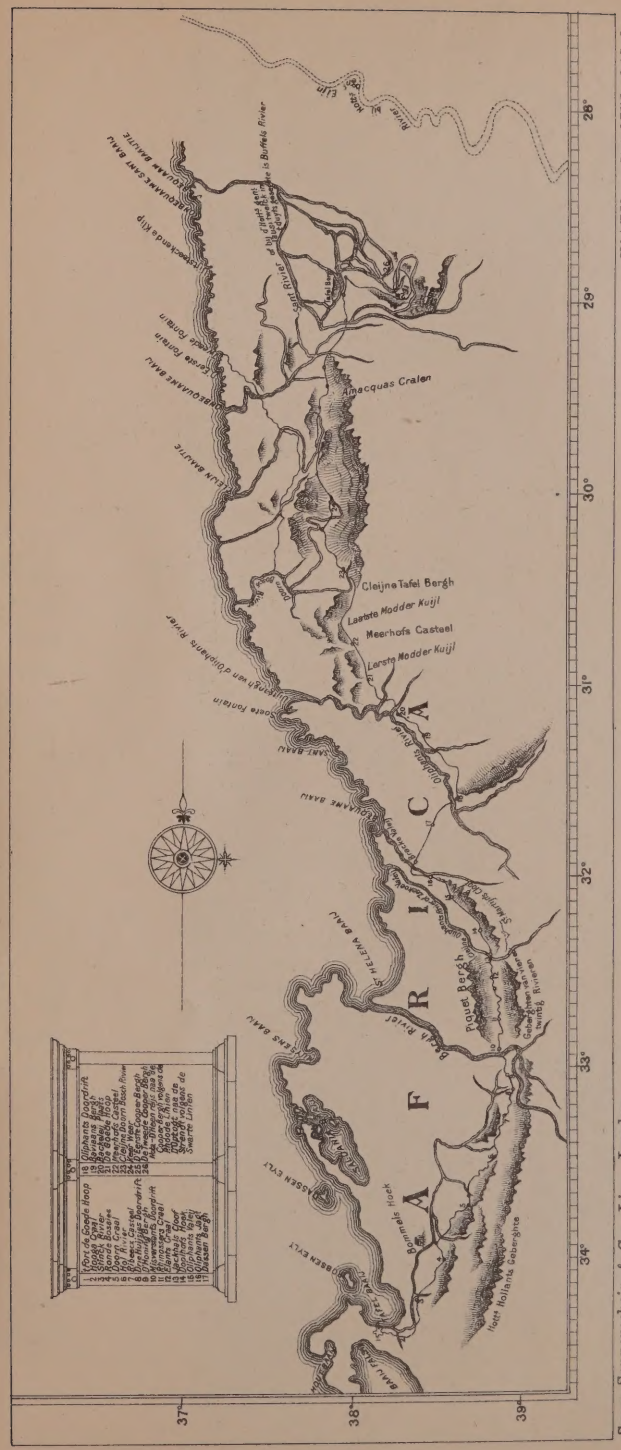
The commander had been absent from the seat of government five months and one day. During that time a great deal of geographical information had been acquired, and what was perhaps equally important, much that had formerly been received as accurate was ascertained to be incorrect. From this date the maps of the western portion of what is now the Cape Colony were fair representations of the country. They did not give the correct courses and lengths of the rivers, it is true, nor did they place them in their exact positions, the latitude being out in some instances as much as sixty-four kilometres or forty English miles, but the general features of the country were accurately delineated. The river known to us as the Orange was laid down from report only, but its size and its course from east to west were known. The commander brought back with him to the Cape a Hottentot of the "Camissons nation," who had passed his youth in wandering about the country along the lower course of the great river, and who was therefore well acquainted with it. This man was dressed in European clothing, and was

placed where he could acquire a knowledge of the Dutch language. The commander hoped in course of time to learn a great deal from him; but he was disappointed in this expectation, for the Namaqua was never able to tell much more than was already known of the country.

As to the copper mines, it had been ascertained that ore, rich and easy to be collected, was there in abundance, but that it was in such a situation as to be useless to Europeans. With the appliances at the Company's disposal, it could not be removed in such quantities as to pay expenses. Under these circumstances it was considered needless to spend more money or thought upon the matter, and so it was left until the improved means of communication of modern times made it possible to turn the mineral wealth of Namaqualand to account.

Map VI.

Reduced in size from the original chart of Commander Simon van der Stel's journey to Namaqualand. This is the first map on which there is any indication of the Orange river.



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CHAPTER XXXIV.

SIMON VAN DER STEL'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

The Wreck of the Stavenisse.

On the night of the 16th of February 1686 the East India Company's third class ship *Stavenisse*, on her return passage from India to Europe, was wrecked on the African coast about one hundred and twelve kilometres or seventy English miles south of the bay of Natal. The weather had been overcast, and Skipper Willem Knyf and his officers believed themselves far from land. In those days longitude at sea was always uncertain, but in this instance the latitude had also been miscalculated. When the look-out reported that he saw land, the chief mate, Ysbrand Hogesaad, who was the officer of the watch, replied sharply that it could only be a bank of mist. He would not even take the trouble to go forward and look for himself, so confident was he of being well out at sea. Presently the look-out reported again that land was close under the bow, and almost at the same moment breakers were seen, and the roar of the surf was heard. It was very dark, and the light breeze was dying away into a perfect calm. The alarm was given, when all hands sprang on deck, and as fast as possible the two bower anchors were got out.

The *Stavenisse* was drifting slowly towards the shore. The port bower held, and she swung to it, but by this time she was among breakers. In this condition she lay for a couple of hours, when the cable parted and she struck. As the ship immediately filled with water, the crew tried to save themselves by getting to land, in which

effort sixty succeeded and eleven were drowned. When day dawned it was seen that one side of the wreck was stove in, the masts had gone, and the cargo of pepper was washing out. Fortunately the main and fore yards, with the sails attached to them, had been thrown up on the beach. The sails when stretched over a rough frame made a tolerable tent. On the 17th and 18th the compasses, charts, and instruments for measuring altitudes, a couple of casks of pork, a small quantity of biscuit, and some clothing were recovered from the wreck. On the 19th a general consultation was held, when it was considered advisable to start at once and attempt to travel overland to the Cape.

The resolution was acted upon without delay. There were three officers who had been severely bruised in getting ashore, and these, being unable to travel, were left behind in the tent. The others, fifty-seven in number, set out that same morning. But within a couple of days the skipper, the three mates, the sailmaker, the boatswain, and four sailors, finding themselves unequal to the effort of walking over such a rough country, abandoned their companions and returned to the wreck. The remaining forty-seven men continued their journey along the coast.

Those who were now at the wreck resolved to repair a broken boat and endeavour to reach the Cape in her. This work occupied a fortnight, and when it was completed the compasses and charts, with a small quantity of stores and clothing that had been recovered, were placed in her and she was launched. But in trying to get through the surf the boat was overturned and everything was lost, the voyagers barely escaping with their lives.

Meantime the Bantu residents in great numbers flocked to the scene of the wreck. At times there were as many as a thousand armed men present. The Europeans managed to purchase a little bread and millet from them for nails and bolts, but they soon set to work to burn and cut out iron for themselves. Having now nothing to buy food

with, the wrecked seamen were in great distress, when one day two Englishmen made their appearance. These strangers stated that on the 17th of May of the preceding year they had lost their vessel at the bay of Natal. For nine months they had been living with the blacks at that place, and upon hearing the report of the wreck of a ship to the southward they had come to offer assistance. They could speak the language of the people with whom they were living sufficiently well to make themselves understood, and they had plenty of beads and copper rings to trade with. At the bay of Natal, they stated, they and their three companions had sufficient merchandise to purchase bread and meat for them all for fifty years, and Skipper Knyf and his party were very welcome to share it with them.

The wrecked men gratefully accepted the timely aid thus offered. Three of them were unable to walk, and the blacks could not be induced to carry them, so they were left in the tent with one of the Englishmen as their protector. Ten of them, guided by the other Englishman, immediately set out for the bay of Natal. After a while one of the sick men died, and the remaining two recovered and joined the main party. In the meantime a petty officer had been trampled to death by an elephant, so that the little European community, when united, consisted of eleven Dutchmen and five Englishmen.

The Englishmen were part of the crew of a ketch named the *Good Hope*, of fifty tons burden and manned by twenty-four hands, which had gone to the east coast of Africa to trade in ivory and slaves. In warping over the bar at Natal she was struck by a squall and driven on the Point, where she remained immovable. Her crew then proceeded to put together a large decked boat, the materials for which were on board, and when this was finished the master and nine men left for Mozambique. Another English ketch about this time put into the bay of Natal to procure a supply of beef, and four more of the crew of the *Good Hope* got away in her. Five had

previously died of dysentery, and the remaining five were those who welcomed the people of the *Stavenisse.* They had a good supply of beads and copper rings, with which to purchase food, and they had even got in barter about three thousand kilogrammes of ivory. Some of them, being anxious to examine the country, had gone far inland, and had everywhere found the residents friendly and hospitable.

After about four months spent in idleness, the Dutch and English unitedly resolved to build a vessel with which to make their escape. There was plenty of timber at hand, and the wreck of the *Good Hope* would furnish some of the other necessary materials, but there was not a sufficient supply of bolts or of tools. A large party of blacks was therefore hired to proceed to the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, where a quantity of iron was collected, which they carried back. For a single copper arm-ring each one bore a burden ranging from twenty-five to fifty kilogrammes in weight over the intervening country.

Among the Europeans there was an Englishman from Bristol, John Kingston by name, who was fertile in expedients for overcoming difficulties. They had no saw, and without one it would be vain to attempt to build a vessel. Kingston set to work, and with only the shank of an anchor for an anvil, he turned a stout iron ring into a tool that answered for one. Then they laid the keel of a vessel fifteen metres or fifty feet long and four metres and a quarter beam. They employed blacks to carry the timber from the forest, and to do the rough work in hewing planks. But it was an arduous undertaking with the limited means at their disposal, so that nearly eight months elapsed before their craft was completed.

Early in 1687 another party of shipwrecked men arrived at the bay of Natal. On the 25th of December 1686 the *Bona Ventura*, of London, a ketch of twenty tons burden, was lost at St. Lucia Bay. One of her crew was drowned, and the remaining eight men and a boy set out with the intention of walking overland to the

Cape of Good Hope, but to their great joy they found at Natal a party of Europeans and a vessel nearly ready for sea. The new comers were welcomed to a share of whatever the others had, and in return joined them in the labour on hand.

Soon after this the little vessel was launched and named the *Centaurus*. A supply of provisions was purchased from the inhabitants, consisting of about three or four thousand kilogrammes of millet, five hundred kilogrammes of salted and smoked meat, a quantity of millet ground into meal, twenty goats, between two and three hundred fowls, and a hundred and fifty pumpkins. Seventeen small casks of water were put on board, and the ivory which the Englishmen had obtained in barter was shipped.

The difficult task which they had undertaken was at length finished, and on the 17th of February 1687, a year and a day after the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, the *Centaurus* was ready for sea. But at the last moment three of the Englishmen who had been wrecked in the *Good Hope* resolved to remain behind. They had formed connections with the Bantu residents, and contrasting the ease of life at Natal with the hardships endured at sea, they clung to the former. An Englishman and a Frenchman of the *Bona Ventura's* crew also preferred to stay where they were. There sailed then in the *Centaurus* the eleven men of the *Stavenisse*, seven of the *Bona Ventura*, and John Kingston and William Christian of the *Good Hope*. They had neither chart nor compass, so they kept in sight of the coast all the way to Table Bay, where they arrived safely on the 1st of March.

The Voyage of the Centaurus.

When reporting themselves at the Cape, Skipper Knyf and his party expressed great surprise that nothing had been heard of the forty-seven men who left the wreck of the *Stavenisse* on the 19th of February 1686. The

council, after taking a number of depositions, considered that they ought to be searched for, and with this object the *Centaurus* was purchased from her builders. Her hull was found to need only a little finishing off, and after she was rigged afresh she proved to be a staunch sea boat and an excellent sailer. Kingston and Christian were paid £33 6*s.* 8*d.* in cash for their share in her, and were then engaged as quartermasters in the Company's service, on the understanding that they were to be employed in any expedition sent to Natal. The crew of the *Bona Ventura* worked their passages to Batavia in the next eastward bound ship that called.

After the *Centaurus* was refitted she was used at the Cape for a few months, and it was not until the 10th of November that she was sent to look for the missing men. East of Mossel Bay she encountered a succession of head winds, so that on the 6th of February 1688 she was only as far as the mouth of the Kei. It was then a calm, and the current setting south-westward, carried her back with it. On the afternoon of the 7th she was off the Coffin, or as now called Cove Rock, which she had previously passed and repassed several times. Being close inshore, an anchor was dropped, and a boat was sent to see if a landing place could be found. During the time the boat was away some persons on shore were noticed making signals, but whether they were Europeans or Hottentots waving karosses was uncertain. The boat returned with an unfavourable report, and, as a light breeze was then rising, sail was again made on the *Centaurus*. But next morning the officers began to reflect that the signals which they had seen were probably made by Europeans, and they therefore determined to go back and make sure.

On the afternoon of the 8th it was nearly calm, and the sea was quite smooth. Something which could not at first be clearly made out was noticed on the water at a distance, but as it came nearer it was seen to be a

small raft with three naked white men upon it paddling towards the vessel. When the strangers reached the *Centaurus* they announced themselves as part of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, and stated that there were on shore eighteen others, besides a French boy who was the sole survivor of a boat's crew that landed on the coast. Upon hearing this, every effort was made to get close in to the land, and at sunset the anchor was dropped in twenty-nine metres of water and the national flag was hoisted. That evening another of the wrecked seamen was got on board.

The French boy who was with the sailors of the *Stavenisse* was a youth that had seen many troubles. His name was Guillaume Chenut. Of a respectable family in Guienne, he had received a good education, but had fled from France with an uncle on account of being a Huguenot. Losing his relative soon afterwards and being in great distress, he applied for aid to an English merchant skipper, who conveyed him to New England, and took him next in his ship which was proceeding to the Indies. When off the Kaffir coast it fell calm and the sea was smooth, which tempted the skipper to land and inspect the country. Guillaume went with him in the boat. Being unsuspicious of danger, the white people were unarmed, and could make no resistance when a party of barbarians fell upon them. All were murdered except Guillaume, who was badly wounded, but whose life was spared. When he recovered he was taken under the protection of a chief named Sotopa. The people of the country were Amaxosa, and Togu was then the paramount ruler of the tribe. The youth rapidly acquired some knowledge of the Xosa language, and being informed that there were white men scattered about in the neighbouring districts, he made his way to a party of them, whom he found to be seamen of the *Stavenisse*. From that time he kept with them until the appearance of the *Centaurus*.

On the 9th the sea was so smooth that communication with the shore was easy. Fourteen men of the *Stavenisse* and the French boy were brought off, as also the flesh of a fat ox which was bartered from the Bantu chief for an arm-ring of the value of four shillings. The following day a present of some beads, a neck-ring, and two arm-rings was sent to the chief in the name of the honourable Company, as an acknowledgment of the kindness with which he had treated the Dutch sailors. The chief was highly pleased with this present, which was to him one of considerable value. Two more oxen were purchased for an arm-ring each, but before they could be slaughtered and the meat got on board, a stiff south-easterly breeze sprang up, and it was necessary to get the *Centaurus* away from her dangerous position. She accordingly made sail for the mouth of a river which was distant about ten or eleven kilometres to the eastward, and there dropped anchor again. This is the river known to us as the Buffalo, but it was called the Eerste by the Dutch sailors. The surf at its mouth was so high that it was not found possible to enter it with a boat. The coast was wild and exposed. To the right, as the men of the *Centaurus* looked upon it, sand hills partly covered with low thick bush were seen, and behind was a rolling grass-covered country, gradually rising, though no mountains were visible. To the left the Coffin rock formed the extremity of a curve twenty-four or twenty-five kilometres in extent. There were still three men of the *Stavenisse* on shore, but as it was believed that they preferred to remain with the blacks and were therefore purposely keeping out of the way, the officers of the *Centaurus* determined to wait no longer for them. On the 11th sail was set for Table Bay, where the little vessel arrived safely on the 19th.

Guillaume Chenut was fortunate enough to meet at the Cape a man who knew his family and who took an interest in him. From this friend the youth learned that his elder brother was then occupying an honourable and

influential post in the service of the stadtholder of Friesland. The directors of the East India Company were communicated with, and instructions were sent out that the youth was to be forwarded to Europe in a becoming manner. This was done, and Chenut was at length restored to his brother.

The First Voyage of the Noord.

A few months after the return of the *Centaurus* it was resolved to send another search expedition along the coast. For this purpose the galiot *Noord* was made ready, and was despatched on the 19th of October 1688, with a crew of nineteen men including the quartermaster William Christian. Her instructions were to proceed first to Delagoa Bay, and carefully examine that harbour and the country around it, and then in returning to search along the coast for the still missing men.

The *Noord* arrived in Delagoa Bay on the 15th of November, and found there two vessels, one of them English, the other Portuguese. On one of the islands the crew of the English vessel had put up a tent, where they were trading with the Bantu residents in a friendly manner. On the mainland, near the mouth of the Manisa river, the Portuguese had a small lodge or temporary habitation, where they were carrying on traffic, some of the ivory which they purchased being brought from a distance as far south as St. Lucia Bay. The Dutch found the Bantu friendly upon the whole, but inclined to be thievish. They remained in the bay, surveying it roughly and exploring the rivers—particularly the Maputa and the Tembe,—until the 29th of December, when they sailed with four men down with fever.

On the 4th of January 1689 the *Noord* came to anchor off the Bluff of Natal. People were seen making signals on shore, and when a boat was sent in two white men came running into the water to meet her, thanking God

1. Mai 1947

that they once more saw Christian faces. They proved to be two of the *Stavenisse's* crew, who had returned from the main party through Kaffirland. It was only two days before full moon, and on the shallowest part of the bar the water was nearly five metres in depth. On the following day the *Noord* went inside. The sick men were taken on shore, where two of them died of the fever which they had brought from Delagoa Bay. The Bantu inhabitants were friendly as before. Supplies of food were brought by them for sale, and were purchased at very cheap rates. A hen could be bought for three beads, three pumpkins for four beads, milk, millet bread, etc., on the same scale. The water-casks were emptied and sent on shore in the boat, and the women filled them with fresh water, which they carried in large earthenware jars poised upon their heads. A party of men, with whom were William Christian and an experienced miner, went inland searching for indications of ore, and were away eight days, but discovered nothing of consequence.

Twenty-three months before this, when the *Centaurus* sailed from Natal, four Englishmen and a Frenchman were left behind. They were not there now, and not a word is said of their fate by the journalist of the *Noord.* But when the galiot was ready to sail, William Christian gave three letters into the custody of a black, a faithful friend of his in bygone days. It may therefore be presumed that his old companions were still in the country, and that they had probably gone on a journey inland.

On the 23rd of January the galiot left Natal. On the 26th she was off the mouth of a river in latitude 33° 2′ S., according to the skipper's reckoning. The great rock where the men of the *Stavenisse* were picked up the year before was visible to the westward at a distance of about a Dutch mile and a half, or eleven kilometres, fifteen Dutch miles being equal to a degree of latitude. There a storm from the north was encountered, which drove the galiot out to sea. On the morning of the 28th she

was again at the mouth of the Buffalo, where she dropped anchor, and a boat was sent in. The surf was too high for the boat to pass, but a strong swimmer made his way through it to land, taking with him a letter for any Europeans who might be there. He returned safely after delivering the letter to some blacks, and ascertaining that two Dutchmen were living close by.

That afternoon the boat was sent in again, but the bar was still too rough to be crossed, though an old man, one of the *Stavenisse's* crew, swam out through the surf and was got on board. He stated that two white men had recently left that part of the country with the intention of proceeding to Natal. The European who was still on shore was an indifferent swimmer. On the 30th an effort was made to get him off at Cove Rock, but the surf was so high that he could not reach a line sent towards him. He then made signals to the boat's crew to desist from attempting to rescue him. The galiot therefore set sail for the westward, and that evening shortly after sunset she passed the Bird islands. Between Cove Rock and these islands her officers observed the mouths of the four rivers now named the Keiskama, Fish, Kowie, and Bushman's, none of which could be entered. Heavy weather followed and prevented her from examining the coast between the Bird islands and Mossel Bay, now the only portion of the southern seaboard not well known. On the 6th of February she arrived in Table Bay.

From the men of the *Good Hope* and *Stavenisse* full information was obtained concerning the coast belt of South Africa from the Tugela to the Buffalo. Their observations upon the country are of little importance now, but their descriptions of its inhabitants are highly interesting. They had lived long enough among the Bantu to acquire some knowledge of the language, so that the names of the tribes which they give are even more correctly spelt than they are by many modern

writers. For instance, they term the Amaxosa the *Magosse*, the Amampondo the *Maponte*, the Abatwa (the Bantu name for the Bushmen) the *Batuas*, etc.

Within the century that had elapsed since the wreck of the *Santo Alberto* the great tribes of modern Kaffirland south of the Umzimkulu had either been formed from scattered families or had grown from petty clans into important communities. There had also been a general advance southward of the Bantu people. Unfortunately the seamen of the *Stavenisse* did not place on record the names of the leading chiefs in the territories they passed through, so that it is not possible to connect their accounts with Bantu traditions collected during recent years, except in the solitary instance of the Amaxosa. Togu was then great chief of that tribe, and according to its antiquaries he was sixth in descent from Xosa, its founder, which would give from fifteen to twenty years as the term of government of each of his predecessors to take the origin of the tribe back to the time of the migration of the Abambo from the far north. The other divisions of the Bantu south of Natal have genealogical tables of their chiefs of about the same length, so that these tables may reasonably be taken as accurate.

According to the wrecked seamen the people who occupied the greater part of Natal termed themselves Abambo. Next came the Amampondomsi, or Pondomisis, as now termed by Europeans. Following them were the Amampondo, and next the Abatembu. Farther westward Bushmen were met, and last of all the Amaxosa. No clue is given by which the exact position of the various tribes at that time can be fixed on a map, but from explorations of a later date it is certain that the Bantu did not extend inland more than half the distance from the sea to the great mountain range, and it is equally certain that many of the clans were then living farther north than now.

The Europeans had been well treated by all these people except the Bushmen, by whom they had been

stripped and robbed of everything they had. They were naked when they reached the country of the Amaxosa, where they were received with great compassion and were supplied with food and shelter. Five of them had perished before that time, two being drowned when attempting to cross a swollen river, two others being left on the way exhausted, and the fifth being murdered by Bushmen. After resting awhile with the Amaxosa, they all wished to proceed on their journey westward, but some of them were induced not to do so by being informed that the next people were Bushmen, who would certainly murder them. Twelve of the boldest, however, made the attempt, and reports had been received that they had all been killed. Of the forty-seven who had left the wreck of the *Stavenisse* to travel southward, seventeen were dead, twenty-one had been rescued, and the fate of the remaining nine was unknown, but it was supposed that they were still living among the blacks in different parts of the country.

Among the Pondos the travellers found an old Portuguese, who had been wrecked on the coast forty years before. He had entirely forgotten his mother tongue, and had become in all respects except colour like the black inhabitants.

They did not discover a single haven along the coast, nor anything in which a profitable trade could be opened up by the honourable Company. Slaves, they stated, were certainly not to be procured, as the inhabitants were friendly in disposition and were very fond of each other.

Of the customs of the Bantu the seamen of the *Stavenisse* gave as accurate and almost as complete an account as any which is extant at the present day. The men did no work except milking the cows and making the kraals, the women being required to till the ground and to perform all the household labour. Circumcision, with its attendant ceremonies and the rights which it confers; polygamy, with the method of obtaining wives and the marriage customs; superstition, with the sacrifice of cattle

and the punishments for alleged dealing in witchcraft, were among the subjects noted by them and fairly described just as they are to-day.

They spoke of the Bantu as more handsome in person than the Hottentots of the Cape, as so hospitable that at every kraal there was a hut kept purposely for the accommodation of strangers, as so social that they never passed each other without stopping and conversing. They described the ceremonies of mourning, the laws of the chase, the rules for the division of spoil taken in war. They gave an account of the knowledge possessed by these people of smelting iron and copper, and of making various tools and ornaments of metals, wood, and ivory.

The mountainous districts were infested with Bushmen, who not only stole cattle, but murdered men, women, and children alike, whenever they had an opportunity. These savages, who were armed with bow and poisoned arrow, had every man's hand against them here, just as everywhere else in South Africa. The stalwart Bantu used the assagai and shield in fighting with them and in all their wars.

The system of government was described, together with the method of trying and punishing criminals, nor is it omitted to be stated that fines for assault of a subject were paid to the chief. The name of the chief who governed the clan occupying what is now the district of East London was Magama. The wrecked seamen called him king, but he was not the paramount chief of the Amaxosa. It is impossible now to ascertain what section of the tribe he ruled over, but that is a matter of small importance compared with the fact that in 1686 a branch of the Xosas was found so far westward.

The principal plants cultivated by this people are stated to have been millet, pumpkins, and beans. Tobacco was found also in the northern districts. The Europeans considered the beer which was made from millet very palatable. The grain was preserved from weevil by storing it in pits underground, precisely as it is to-day. The country was exceed-

ingly well stocked with horned cattle and goats, and teemed with wild animals of many kinds.

These particulars show that the travellers had made themselves thoroughly well acquainted with the domestic life of the people among whom they had been living. Their statements, coupled with the log-book of the *Noord*, supplied such information as enabled the commander to frame a rough chart of the south-eastern coast region. The chart was certainly far from accurate, but it was a great improvement upon the old maps. The fabulous empire of Monomotapa was now confined to the distant interior, and Cortado and kindred towns disappeared altogether.

Ensign Schryver's Expedition to the Inquas.

Before 1687 the most distant Hottentot tribe known to the eastward was the Outeniqua, who occupied the district beyond the present village of George. Of them even very little more than the name was known, as no European had ever penetrated farther than the kraals of the Attaquas, who adjoined them to the westward. Between the Attaquas and Hottentots-Holland lay the districts of the Gouriquas, the Hessequas, and the Chainouquas, all well known people. Beyond the Outeniquas many hordes were reported to exist, and some fifteen or twenty words then held to be tribal names were written down by different commanders, a repetition of which would only cause confusion. They may have been imitations of the sounds of titles of petty clans, but supposition is needless, for in whatever manner the words were obtained, they disappeared as soon as the light of exploration fell upon the country.

In February 1687 there came to the castle an individual who represented that he had been sent by a very powerful chief living far to the eastward to ascertain what kind of people the white men were, of whom rumours

had reached him, and what kind of things the wonderful articles were which it was reported they exchanged for cattle. According to the messenger's account, he was himself a chief, but from the way in which he boasted of the exploits of himself and his people, the commander concluded that his following was a band of robbers. He told just such a story, in short, as a Kaffir bard would recite to-day, and which would deceive any one who was a stranger to Bantu or Hottentot customs. From the statements which he made concerning the powerful ruler by whom he had been sent, the Europeans were led to believe that this could be no other than the emperor of Monomotapa, the great potentate whom they had so long been searching for in vain. The messenger remained at the castle only two days, during which time he was well entertained, and upon leaving he promised soon to return with the brother of the great chief who had sent him.

During the next two years presents were frequently forwarded by the commander through the medium of Captain Klaas to the individual who, from being considered a mighty emperor, soon came to be termed the chief of the Inqua Hottentots. In December 1688 another deputation from him arrived at the Cape, and announced that he was desirous of entering into a friendly agreement with the Europeans, so that they could carry on trade with each other. He sent word further that his country was very populous, that it was well stocked with horned cattle and sheep, and that no white men had ever visited it.

The council immediately resolved to send a party back with the chief's messengers, and for this purpose an expedition was organised which left the castle on the 4th of January 1689. It consisted of twenty-two Europeans and a number of Cape Hottentots, the whole under command of Ensign Izaak Schryver. Two waggons laden with supplies of food and articles for barter accompanied the expedition.

Passing over Hottentots-Holland kloof, the party reached the kraal of Chainouquas or Soeswas, under Captain Klaas, where some pack oxen were obtained. Thence eastward a course was followed the same as that of the high road which passes through the present villages of Caledon and Swellendam to Heidelberg. From this place the guides led the expedition to within a few kilometres of the site of the present village of Oudtshoorn, and then crossing the Zwartebergen went on some distance farther north-eastward, until on the thirty-ninth day after leaving the castle the kraals of the Inqua tribe were found, under a chief called by the Dutch Hykon. The point reached cannot be fixed with precision. It was described as being on the bank of a river running from north-east to south-west; north-east by east was a lofty mountain with a long and crooked pass through it, and to the south-south-east beyond the river was a high peak whose summit resembled a castle in ruins, from which circumstance the name Vervallen Casteel was given to it.

Captain Hykon is described by Ensign Schryver as a man of much greater authority than any of the captains about the Cape, and his people are stated to be larger and better proportioned than other Hottentots. More than five hundred head of cattle and a good many sheep were obtained from them in barter, and the intercourse with them was of a most friendly nature. On one occasion only there was a slight misunderstanding. It was a law of Hykon's tribe that any one killing game wa not to eat of it until a present had been made to the chief. In ignorance of this custom, one of Ensign Schryver's party shot a bird and cooked it, upon which Hykon expressed his displeasure. As soon, however, as the ensign was made aware of the circumstance and of the law of the tribe, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.

From the Inquas the Europeans obtained information concerning other tribes, which enabled them to fill up the

vacant place on the map between the country of the Outeniquas and that of the Amaxosa. They stated that the people whom they called Kobona, and we call Bantu or Kaffirs, were to be reached in a journey of five days to the east-south-east. They described the dwellings of the Kobona as differing from those of the Hottentots, inasmuch as the frames were closely wattled and covered with clay and the roofs were thatched. Between the two races there was often war, in which much damage was done. The Inquas were too far away to take part in these wars, but they, like every other South African tribe, were constantly engaged in hostilities with Bushmen.

To the south-east of the Inquas the tribes on the coast were the Ganumqua, the Nambunqua, the Gonaqua, and the Damaqua, the last adjoining the Bantu. From these the Inquas obtained dagha, a species of wild hemp which they used as the Dutch did tobacco or the Chinese opium. The Inquas were a numerous people, and carried on a large bartering trade with their neighbours.

When the expedition was returning it encountered a horde of Bushmen who had just seized a great number of cattle belonging to the Attaquas. For several days these Bushmen continued with the Europeans, causing much annoyance and creating strong suspicion that they were watching for an opportunity to make an attack. At length their conduct became so provoking that the ensign ordered a general volley to be fired among them. Thirty fell, and the rest fled, leaving the cattle, which the Europeans took possession of. When the Attaquas heard what had taken place, they expressed great joy that their enemies had met with such a disaster.

During the remainder of the journey little of importance transpired. In the Hessequa country a few cattle were stolen from the party one night, but upon information being given to the chief he took steps to recover them, and put to death one of the thieves who was captured. On the 6th of April the ensign reported himself at

the castle, having brought back his party in safety, and having with him over a thousand head of horned cattle, a herd larger than any obtained by the most successful trading expedition previously sent out.

The Wreck of the Noord.

In October 1689 the council of policy resolved to send the galiot *Noord* for the second time along the coast as far as Natal. The objects in view were, first, to rescue the nine missing men of the *Stavenisse* who were believed to be still living with the Bantu; second, to endeavour to purchase for the honourable Company the bay of Natal and the land around it; and third, to survey Algoa Bay and purchase it and the country about it from the Hottentot proprietors.

The galiot sailed from Table Bay on the 28th of October, but, owing to contrary winds, did not arrive before the bay of Natal until the 9th of December. There three men of the *Stavenisse* were found and taken on board, and the desired purchase of territory was effected. A formal contract was drawn up by Laurens van Swaanswyk, the journalist of the expedition, to which the chief residing near the bay affixed his mark. In this the honourable Company was acknowledged to be the proprietor of the inlet and surrounding land, for which merchandise in rings, beads, copper plates, wire, etc., to the value of about £1,650 English sterling money was said to have been paid, though in fact £50 would more nearly have represented its value. Landmarks or stone beacons, with the Company's monogram upon them, were erected in several prominent positions.

On the 11th of January 1690 the *Noord* sailed from Natal, and on the 15th arrived in Algoa Bay, or as it was then called, Bahia da Lagoa. A stiff breeze was blowing in, and the bay was like a stormy sea. Skipper Pieter Timmerman pronounced it nothing better than an

exposed bight, and deeming it worthless to the Company, he did not even drop anchor, but continued on his passage westward.

On the evening of the 16th the galiot was believed to be well off the land, when about half-past nine o'clock she struck suddenly, and with the next wave was washed high up on the reef called Klippen Point, about twenty-four or twenty-five kilometres west of Cape St. Francis. Her officers were afterwards severely blamed for her loss, but they appear to have used due precaution. The night was dark, and it is now known that the Agulhas current at this place often spreads out so as to cause a drift towards the shore.

At low water the crew found that they could walk to land without wetting their feet. They numbered eighteen men, all strong and hearty. The wreck was full of water at high tide, but they had no difficulty in getting what they wanted out of her. No people were to be seen in the neighbourhood. On the 23rd they started from the scene of the disaster, to make their way as best they could overland to the castle. Each man took with him a matchlock with ammunition, and as much food as he could carry. For several days they kept together, but at length they broke up into parties, the sturdiest pushing on ahead.

On the 27th of March the mate Theunis van der Schelling, with three companions, arrived at the Cape and reported the loss of the *Noord*. These men had suffered much from hunger until they reached the kraal of Captain Klaas, by whom they had been entertained and cared for in the most generous manner. Indeed, they attributed their preservation to his kindness. Klaas immediately sent some of his people to search for the other men, but most of them perished before aid could reach them. The few that were rescued told piteous tales of the misery they had gone through, and the cruel treatment they had received at the hands of Bushmen.

One result of these expeditions and disasters was a knowledge of the coast belt and its inhabitants such as was hardly added to during the next hundred years. From this time forward also the Europeans in South Africa regarded one class of those inhabitants less favourably than they had done before. That class was the wild, untameable, aboriginal race previously known as Sonquas, Obiquas, Hougliquas, Makriggas, Batuas, etc., but thenceforth commonly called Bossiemans or Bushmen.* The country from Delagoa Bay to the Cape of Good Hope could be travelled over in perfect safety, wrote the commander, if it were not for these banditti. The hand of the Hottentot and the Kaffir everywhere was against them, and now the European was added to the number of their foes. By all alike their right to the country as its first inhabitants was completely ignored, by all alike they were regarded as thieves and murderers, and ere long it came to be considered the duty of honest, law-abiding people to aid in purging the settled districts of their presence. A struggle then commenced between the colonists and these savages, which continued until the nineteenth century was well advanced, when the Bushmen who remained were too few in number to give further trouble.

*The word Bossiemans first occurs in a manuscript dated 20th of October 1685.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SIMON VAN DER STEL'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

In June 1685 a French ship bound to Siam put into Table Bay, having on board an embassy sent by Louis XIV to the government of that country. Accompanying the embassy were six missionaries of the Company of Jesus, among whom were two astronomers provided with the best instruments of the day. The missionaries were treated in the most courteous and considerate manner by the high commissioner and the commander, though they were not permitted to conduct public worship on shore The pleasure house in the Company's garden was assigned to them for an observatory, and there they made astronomical observations during the few nights of their stay at the Cape. From an eclipse of one of Jupiter's satellites they calculated the difference of time between Paris and their station to be one hour, twelve minutes, and forty seconds, which is about eight minutes too much, so that they laid down the African coast-line two degrees too far east. The variation of the magnetic needle they found to be eleven degrees and thirty minutes west.*

*When the Portuguese first doubled Africa, the needle was found to be without variation at Agulhas, from which circumstance that cape is generally believed to have received its name, though this is not quite certain, for there is no record of the event, and it is just possible that it may have been so called from the fish termed by the Portuguese agulhas, which were frequently caught in that locality. At the end of the sixteenth century, when the Dutch commerce was very rapidly extending, much thought was expended in endeavouring to find out some means of ascertaining longitudes. Christopher Columbus, who found a point of no variation two degrees and thirty minutes east of Corvo, was the first to suggest that the position of a ship at sea might be known by means of observations of the compass. A century later the idea of Columbus was

In the year 1685 the directors renewed the attempt to induce emigration from the Netherlands to this colony. They distributed notices throughout the provinces, offering to industrious families free passages to the Cape, farms in full property as large as each could cultivate, and a supply of agricultural implements, seed, and cattle, at cost price on credit. The emigrants were to remain in South Africa at least fifteen years, and should they desire to return to Europe at the expiration of that period, they were to be conveyed back at rates which were specified. Before embarking they were to take an oath of allegiance to the states-general as the sovereign and supreme authorities, to the prince of Orange as governor, captain, and admiral-general, and to the East India Company.

It has already been related that there was no dearth of employment in the Netherlands, nor dissatisfaction of any kind in religious or secular matters, so that the motives which ordinarily induce men to leave their country were wanting. Still there were persons who might be expected to take advantage of an offer like that made by the directors of the East India Company. These were either such adventurous individuals as are always to be found in maritime countries, or Germans from the neighbouring states who had come to Holland in search of a

adopted by many men of note, but by no one was it so elaborately worked out as by Dr. Petrus Plancius, a clergyman of Amsterdam, famous for his geographical knowledge and for his activity in promoting commercial enterprise. His plan for determining longitudes was based upon the supposition that the variation of the compass increased regularly from a minimum to a maximum point, and then decreased regularly in the opposite direction. One of the minimum points, or places of no perceptible variation, he set down from the observations of numerous seamen at a hundred and twenty-seven kilometers east of Agulhas, or about the cape now called Barracouta. This was in 1596. The scheme of Plancius was approved of by the greatest authorities of his time, and it was not altogether discarded when the French expedition was here. Calculations of longitude, based upon the variation of the compass, are frequently found in the old log-books, though the experience of nearly a century showed they were in most instances valueless. In 1714, according to the historian Valentyn, the variation at Capetown was eleven degrees west.

living, and who had taken to themselves Dutch wives. So many men had gone from the republic to fill positions of trust in the Indian dependencies, and so many more were serving in the fleets, that the number of females was greatly in excess of that of males throughout the provinces. Thus it happened that while the women—with very few exceptions—who came from Europe to the Cape Colony before 1688 were Dutch by birth, a considerable proportion of the male settlers consisted of naturalised foreigners.

The new colonists of this period whose descendants are still in South Africa were not, however, all immigrants who came out under the terms offered by the East India Company. Commander Van der Stel was always on the watch for men likely to make good farmers, and whenever such a one was discovered either in the garrison or the homeward bound fleets, inducements were held out to him to become a landowner. If he had a wife or one in prospect in the Netherlands, she was sent out free of expense. The new names of burghers found in the records of this time are those of Andries Beyers, Jan van den Bosch, Pieter Boshouwer, Hendrik Bouwman, Nicolaas Cleef, Gerrit van Deventer, Pierre le Fèbre, Matthys Greef, Abraham Hartog, Christoffel Hasewinkel, Jacobus van der Heyden, Abraham de Klerk, Pieter van Marseveen, Willem Meyer, Hendrik Christoffel Möller, Jan Lambert Myburgh, Adriaan Prinsloo, Frederik Russouw, Izaak Scheepers, Jan Smit, Marten van Staden, Joost Strydom, and Jan Vermeulen.

To provide wives for those men who were unmarried when discharged from the Company's service in South Africa, the commander on several occasions requested the directors to send out a number of females* who, he thought, could easily be induced to migrate from Hol-

* In 1672 the directors renewed the attempt made in 1664 to induce young women to proceed to South Africa under the care of clergymen, sick-comforters, and others with families, but they met with no success.

land. In October 1685 he was informed that his requests had been under consideration, and that forty-eight marriageable girls would be sent out as a commencement. To obtain them the directors applied to the orphan masters of some of the great towns of the Netherlands.

Homes for orphans were then, as they are still, among the most important charitable institutions of the Low Countries. They partook of the practical character of the people, and had for their object the maintenance and education of poor orphan children. In these institutions the inmates wore a particular kind of dress to distinguish them from other children, strict discipline was maintained, and habits of industry, cleanliness, and frugality were enforced. The masters or guardians acted as parents of the orphans: they apprenticed the boys to trades, placed the girls in service, and generally watched over them until they could make for themselves a fair commencement in life. All classes of people regarded the inmates of the homes with a friendly eye, presents were often sent to them, and it was considered a scandalous action to harm them in any way. Better schools than these there could not be for training boys and girls to become useful members of the commonwealth. The children did not receive, it is true, more than a very elementary education from books, but they were taught to fear God and to do their duty in that station of life in which it had pleased Him to place them. They formed a community like a large family presided over by careful and devout parents.

The orphan guardians of Amsterdam and Rotterdam consented to allow marriageable girls who were so inclined to migrate to the Cape, but only under conditions which so far as human means can go should serve to screen them from harm. They were not to embark unless accompanied by other emigrants and under the care of a respectable elderly woman. The commander of the Cape was to see that they were comfortably provided for

and properly protected until they were married to honourable, sober, and industrious burghers. They were not to be detained in the colony against their will if after five years' residence they or their husbands wished to return to Europe. Even under these conditions very few young women were found willing to leave the fatherland, so that instead of the forty-eight that the directors wished to send out in 1685, only three embarked in the fleet of that year. They were from Rotterdam. In 1686 they were followed by seven or eight more, who also came from Rotterdam. During several years small parties of them continued to arrive, though never more than seven or eight at a time. They were married to the most prosperous of the Cape burghers, generally within a few weeks after landing.

In 1686 a fair was established at Stellenbosch, and was thereafter held yearly from the 1st to the 14th of October. It was intended by the commander to be similar in every respect to a kermis in the fatherland, such as is still kept up in many Dutch towns, though the kindred institution of an English fair is almost forgotten. At this fair every one was at liberty to buy and sell the products of the country without restriction. It was intended also to be a season of general recreation, and it was provided that the drilling of the militia and target-shooting should then take place.

The method of target-shooting in those days was so peculiar as to merit a description. A figure resembling a parrot, and hence called a *papegaai*, was fixed upon a pole in the centre of a circle with a radius of eighteen metres. The marksmen chose their positions upon an arc of this circle in the order in which they paid the subscription fees, which were—to residents of Stellenbosch one shilling, and to all others four shillings. They fired in the same order, standing and without rests for their guns. The small prizes were—for knocking off the head four shillings, the right wing two shillings, the left wing one shilling and

sixpence, the tail one shilling, and a splinter sixpence. The great prize was given to him who knocked off the rump and by doing so destroyed the whole figure. It was five pounds in cash from the honourable Company and whatever subscription money was in hand. The winner was escorted home in state by the whole body of shooters, and had the title of King of the Marksmen until some one else could wrest it from him.

Target-shooting was also practised with pistols. In this exercise a small object was set up ten paces on one side of a straight furrow. The marksmen were mounted, and rode at full gallop along the furrow, firing as they passed. The drill-master, who was always a man of experience, arranged for target-shooting, and was the sole judge in disputes. He received one-fifth of all prizes, more as a mark of his authority than as payment for his services. The government encouraged these exercises as a means of keeping the burghers skilled in the use of their weapons. Towards the end of September in every year the drill-master appeared at the castle and received from the issuer of stores, as the honourable Company's contribution to the sports, sixty-eight kilogrammes of gunpowder, forty-five kilogrammes of lead, and three hundred gun-flints.

During the period of the fair, the colonists of the Cape district usually went in their waggons to Stellenbosch, and gave themselves up to the enjoyments of the season. If there were ships in port, as many of their people as could get away generally did the same. It was the pleasure time of the year, when labour was laid aside for a short space, and friends renewed their acquaintanceship. The commander, who loved to see his people happy, was always present on these occasions. On the closing day of the fair, which was his birthday, every one waited upon him and wished him happiness, the school-children marched in procession, carrying their banner and directed by Dominie Mankadan, and in the afternoon the whole

body of militia was drawn up and fired three volleys in his honour. Any Hottentot chiefs who were in the neighbourhood were also in the habit of paying their respects on these occasions. They were always well entertained according to their ideas, and it was not unusual for them to present an ox in return.

When the commander visited Stellenbosch to be present at the fair of 1686 he was accompanied by the reverend Johannes Overney, who on Sunday the 13th of October conducted divine service in the house of one of the residents. It was the first service held by a clergyman in the new settlement. A sermon was delivered from the text Isaiah lii. 7, and in the afternoon three infants born at Stellenbosch were baptized.

On the following day the question of putting up a building expressly for public worship was discussed, and it was resolved to take it in hand as soon as the crops were gathered. An arrangement was made that the clergyman of the Cape should visit the village once every three months, to conduct divine service and administer the sacraments, and that the sick-visitor Mankadan should continue to read a sermon and prayers regularly on all other Sabbaths in the year.

On the 20th of December the council of policy formally established a new congregation by the approval of Dirk Coetsee, a burgher who had been several years in the colony, as elder for Stellenbosch. In January 1687, when Mr. Overney visited the village to conduct the services, the elder and a deacon were installed in office, and a consistory came into existence which was afterwards perpetuated in the same manner as that in Capetown. A few weeks later, on the 14th of February, the first stone of the church was laid. The building was twelve metres and eight tenths in length by six and seven tenths in width. The commander was a liberal contributor towards the cost of its erection, and took such a warm interest in the undertaking that he sometimes visited the

village purposely to superintend the work in person. It was opened for use during his next birthday tour, on the 19th of October 1687, on which occasion the reverend Johannes van Andel delivered a sermon from Numbers vi. 23-27.

A residence for the landdrost and a courthouse were erected in 1686, and a mill was built at the expense of the district. The price for grinding corn was fixed, and the mill was then leased by auction to the highest bidder, the rental going to the district funds.

The cultivation of the vine was advancing in the new district, and already Stellenbosch had the reputation of producing better wine than Rondebosch or Wynberg. But the very best was so far inferior to the wines of Europe that the commander believed either that the grapes were pressed too soon or the right kind had not yet been introduced. He therefore issued a placaat prohibiting every one under a penalty of ten pounds from pressing grapes before the vineyards had been visited by a committee and pronounced by himself to be of the requisite maturity; and he not only obtained new cuttings of different varieties from France, Germany, and Spain, but managed to produce Persian vines from seed. With all these he was experimenting on his own farm Constantia, as well as in the Company's gardens in Table Valley and at Rustenburg, and he was encouraging the burghers of Stellenbosch to do the same.

Experiments were repeated at this time in the cultivation of rice, cassava, and hops, which were found to answer no better than on former occasions. Millet, obtained from Natal, did very well, and it was found to make good beer. The olive, which had excited such hopes in the first commander of the settlement, was tried again and again by Simon van der Stel. He had the trees planted in every variety of soil and position, but he could not make them bear to his liking. In some seasons the fruit would fall before it was mature, in other seasons there would be no fruit at all. Only occa-

sionally a few good olives would be obtained, just sufficient to keep up hope. At last all the trees died off except three or four.

The commander was an enthusiastic tree-planter. He observed that the indigenous forests of the country were rapidly being destroyed, and that nature unaided was not replacing them. Unless trees were planted by man there would soon be neither timber nor fuel to be had. The fuel used by the garrison was indeed even then obtained from a grove of alders beyond Rondebosch, which had been planted by Mr. Crudop in 1679. Various kinds of European and Indian timber trees were being produced from seeds in the nurseries of the Company's garden, but of them all none seemed to thrive like the oak. The commander, therefore, endeavoured to get as many oaks planted as possible. He offered young trees to the burghers, and at a date somewhat later he issued a positive order that every farmer was to plant at least one hundred. He set the example at Constantia and on the Company's farms. In the spring of 1687 he had the satisfaction of seeing between four and five thousand oaks already beginning to bear acorns in the Stellenbosch and Cape districts, and he had at this time over fifty thousand in the nurseries nearly ready to transplant.

In the night of the 16th of April 1686 the Portuguese ship *Nossa Senhora dos Milagros*, on her return passage to Europe, was wrecked on the coast between Capes Agulhas and False. She had a crew of several hundred souls, besides a good many passengers, including three ecclesiastics and three ambassadors from the king of Siam to the king of Portugal, with their servants and other attendants. The night was fine and clear, but the master of the ship, believing he had rounded the Cape, neglected to set a watch, and was steering directly on shore. Many lost their lives in trying to get to land after the ship struck, and those who succeeded in reaching the beach found themselves without food and half naked.

The eldest of the Siamese ambassadors died of grief and distress shortly after getting to land, and the others left with a party of Portuguese to make their way to the Cape. On the 8th of May ten of the seamen reached the castle, where they were kindly received. Some waggons and horses, with provisions, were immediately sent to meet the other unfortunate travellers. Two days later Captain Manuel da Silva, a number of officers, Roman catholic priests, sailors, and soldiers arrived. They had undergone such terrible suffering from hunger and thirst that a large proportion of those who left the wreck perished on the way to the Cape. They informed the commander that they had saved nothing whatever except diamonds to the value of one hundred thousand pounds. The Siamese had been abandoned by their Portuguese companions on the way, and no one could tell what had become of them.

The council resolved to lodge the Portuguese officers and priests at Rondebosch, and the sailors and soldiers in the hospital, which happened to be free of patients. Rations according to their rank, on the same scale as those supplied to the Company's servants, were issued to them, and a sum of £100 in money was lent to the officers to purchase clothing. The priests were required not to give offence to the inhabitants by public celebration of their worship. They were all forwarded to Europe with the next fleet, except some sailors who chose to enter the Company's service.

A sergeant and six soldiers were sent to look for the Siamese, and to give them all the assistance in their power. After the lapse of about a month from the date of the wreck most of them were found in a wretched condition wandering about among the mountains. They were received at the castle with firing of cannon and other marks of honour, on account of the friendly feeling of the Siamese government towards the East India Company. A present of clothing was made to them, they were furnished with £200 in cash on loan, and at their

own request they were lodged at the house of a burgher rather than with the Portuguese. About four months after being rescued, the two surviving ambassadors with their attendants, twenty-eight in number, were forwarded to Batavia, where they found a ship in which they returned to their own country.

In 1686 an incident occurred which illustrates the enmity that was already felt towards the Bushmen. Some little time before this a party of Europeans who went out hunting was attacked by a band of these savages, when one of their number was killed by a poisoned arrow, sixteen oxen were captured, and their two waggons were burnt. There was no possibility of retaliating in the same way as with an agricultural or even a pastoral people, for it was useless looking for Bushmen when they did not wish to be seen. The Chainouqua country was infested with them, so that travelling was unsafe. The commander called upon Captains Klaas and Koopman to suppress their depredations, but Klaas was himself so sorely pressed by them that on one occasion he was compelled to abandon his kraals and flee to the neighbourhood of Cape Agulhas.

At length this good and faithful friend of the Company, as he is often called, appeared at the castle and stated that he had succeeded in inflicting a slight punishment upon the common enemy. His account was that as he was preparing to attack them they sent three women to request a renewal of the friendship that had once existed between them. He returned a favourable answer, with a present of tobacco, by which means he decoyed eleven of them, including their leader, to his kraal. There he caused a sheep to be killed for their entertainment, and while they were dancing and rejoicing he had them seized and ordered them to be put to death. The order was instantly carried out upon eight of them, the other three having managed to escape by the fleetness of their feet. For this act of retaliation for the injuries done to

the Europeans, as the council chose to view it, Klaas was rewarded with a present of nine kilogrammes of Virginia tobacco, thirty-six litres of arrack, sixty-eight kilogrammes of rice, and a few trifles.

Among the various placaats which had been issued from time to time since the formation of the settlement, there were many which had fallen into disuse. Some were no longer adapted to the condition of affairs, others were only enforced by particular commanders. It thus became necessary to revise and publish them afresh, so that there might be no uncertainty about the local laws. Most of the revised placaats had reference to what would now be termed municipal matters, and by them not only was individual liberty more restricted, but the penalties for infringement were much severer than at present. In these respects, however, the Cape did not differ from the most enlightened European countries. A few of the general placaats are here given to show the character of the collection :—

"The breed of horses in this country having degenerated in size, any one who shall use for labour a horse under three years of age shall be subject to a penalty of ten pounds."

"Many slaves having deserted from service and caused great trouble and danger by forming themselves into bands of robbers, no one is to permit a slave to carry a gun, even when tending cattle, under penalty of a fine of twenty pounds."

"No one is to sell any implement of war, even a knife, to a slave, under penalty of arbitrary correction."

"To prevent fraud, the Company's cattle are to be branded C & O on both ears, and no one is to keep cattle with clipped ears, under penalty of confiscation."

Another useful measure was the more perfect registration of titles to land. On the 1st of July 1686 a resolution was passed by the council of policy, calling upon all persons to produce within two months their title-deeds

and leases, for the purpose of having them copied into a strong book and authenticated by the secretary. The existing records were also to be copied into the same book, so that all cause of dispute and actions at law might be prevented. The volume framed in accordance with this resolution is now in the office of the surveyor-general in Capetown. From this date a record of titles has been kept, but it must not be inferred that the names of all, or even a majority, of those who obtained grants of land will be found recorded at the time of their arrival in this country. As a means of tracing the progress of immigration, for instance, these records are nearly valueless. Title-deeds were never issued until the ground was surveyed, and this was sometimes delayed twenty-five or thirty years after it was allotted. The occupant in the meantime held merely a note authorising him to take possession of and cultivate the land. In many instances the original occupier died or sold out and removed, in which case the titles were issued in the name of the one in possession when the survey was made.* This will account for the apparently defective condition of the land record books for a long series of years.

Towards the beginning of the winter of 1687 the colony was visited by a destructive disease, a kind of fever which carried off many of the inhabitants. The Hottentots suffered very severely from it, so much so that one kraal is mentioned in which half the people were dead while the others were all sick. Schacher, chief of the Goringhaiquas or Kaapmans, died at this time. The clan was so thoroughly subject to the Company that the appointment of his successor was made by the commander. He chose a nephew of the deceased chief, whom he named Massanissa, and to whom he gave one of the ordinary staffs of office. Among the Europeans who were carried off were the reverend Johannes Overney and

* Thirty years' undisputed possession of ground gave the occupier a legal claim to a free title.

Captain Hieronymus Cruse. The clergyman died on the 5th of May. The pulpit was not long vacant, for on the 4th of June the reverend Johannes van Andel called here in a ship of which he was chaplain, and consented to remain. The old explorer Captain Cruse, often mentioned in former years, died on the 20th of June. He was succeeded in the command of the garrison by Lieutenant Dominique de Chavonnes.

In June 1687 a fleet of six ships of war, sent by the king of France with a second embassy to the king of Siam, put into Table Bay. The admiral's request to be permitted to purchase refreshments and to lodge his sick in the hospital was at once acceded to, but on condition that all healthy men were to go on board before sunset and that arms were not to be carried by any of them when ashore. The garrison of the castle was at the time very small, but to make a brave show, the commander called in some men from the outposts and required the Cape militia to mount guard. Stellenbosch also furnished a contingent of forty armed burghers.*

In October 1687 a fresh tract of land was given out to settlers. About fifty individuals belonging to the homeward bound fleet which put into Table Bay in September, being charmed with the appearance of the country, petitioned the commander to allow them to make a trial of farming. He would very cheerfully have done so if they had been married men, but as only a few had wives he thought it best to reject two-thirds of them. At the close of the fair at Stellenbosch there were twenty-three individuals in all ready to take possession of farms. The commander therefore resolved to found a new settlement with them, and for this purpose he selected the beautiful valley visited first by Abraham Gabbema thirty years before. At daylight on the morning of the 16th of Octo-

* There was a system of signals by means of guns and flags between the castle and the drostdy at Stellenbosch, by means of which the militia could be called to the defence of the Cape at very short notice.

ber the new burghers left Stellenbosch, and were followed a little later by his Honour with a party of attendants on horseback. At Simonsberg they halted to rest, and there the commander overtook them. It was a lovely view that met their eyes as they looked down into the valley where they were about to make their homes. A stranger cannot gaze upon it in the pleasant spring-time without feeling a thrill of delight, and if to-day the many homesteads and groves add to its beauty, it has lost almost as much in that rich carpeting of grass and flowers which covered it in 1687. It had as yet no name, so the commander called it Drakenstein, after an estate in the Netherlands belonging to the lord of Mydrecht.

That afternoon the frontage of the twenty-three farms was marked out along the Berg river. Each farm was to extend backwards six hundred roods, or 2·267 kilometres, and was sixty roods, or 227 metres, in width, thus containing nearly one hundred and twenty-seven English acres. Like all other landed property in the colony, that now given out was legally burdened with the payment to the government of tithes of the produce of grain. This tax was, however, not very rigidly exacted, and was generally either wholly or in part remitted in bad seasons or when the occupants of the ground met with any heavy losses. An experiment was once made in farming it out at public auction. The purchaser had the right to every eleventh sheaf as it stood in the field, for though called the tithe, a full tenth was seldom demanded. But the plan gave rise to complaints, and it was soon abandoned, after which the tenth part of all grain brought to the Cape for sale was deducted as it passed the castle. The only other charge upon the ground was the cost of measurement and title-deeds when it was surveyed. The farms were given out in full property, subject to these conditions only, but they could be forfeited if the grantees neglected to commence cultivating them within a year, or if they afterwards abandoned them. It was necessary to make this provision, as the great major

ity of the Company's servants who became farmers soon got tired of that occupation.

In November of this year False Bay was examined by the commander in person. In March 1682 it had been surveyed, but not so carefully as to satisfy the directors. The galiot *Noord* conveyed the commander with some surveyors and a draughtsman round from Table Bay, and while she was engaged taking soundings, a party proceeding along the shore was measuring distances and angles. The bight previously known as Yselstein Bay was found to be capable of affording good shelter for a small fleet. It was ascertained that fresh water was to be had there, and fish of excellent quality in great abundance. Its advantages were observed as a place of call and refreshment for the Company's ships in time of war, when an enemy's fleet might be watching Table Bay. The commander gave it his Christian name, and as Simon's Bay it has ever since been known.

The colonists were at this time in a fairly prosperous condition. There were no avenues to great wealth open to them, but on the other hand no one was suffering from want of the necessaries of life. There were no beggars in the colony. The thriftless and unstable burghers who had given so much trouble in the earlier days of the settlement had died out or returned into the Company's service, and their places were occupied by a more industrious class of men. Still, there was one circumstance in connection with the colonists which caused the commander much uneasiness. Only about one-third of them were married, and none but these could be considered permanently settled. Everything that was possible had been done to procure female immigrants, but the number that arrived was very small indeed. Notwithstanding the laws against European men forming connections with slave and Hottentot women, immorality of that kind could not be entirely checked, and many children of mixed blood were born in the settlement. These

naturally grew up as a class inferior to Europeans, but priding themselves upon being better than either pure Hottentots or negroes.

The burghers of the town, who were all discharged servants of the Company, were chiefly dependent upon the shipping for means of living. They showed their prosperity by a tendency to display in dress, which the commander deemed so unbecoming that he forbade it. He did not want any spurious grandees here, he said, but honest, industrious people, of whom alone good colonists could be made. His ideas in this respect were those of the cleverest statesmen of his age.* When, for instance, he prohibited the wives of mechanics from carrying sun-shades and expressed an opinion that such a practice was too outrageous to be tolerated, he was but following the example of the most advanced people of Europe.

Toward the close of the year 1687 a plague of locusts did much damage to the gardens, but notwithstanding this the crops were so good that there was not room in the magazines for all the grain and wine and other produce that was brought in. On the 31st of December, when the yearly census was taken, it appeared that the Company had at Rustenburg in round numbers one hundred thousand vines bearing, and had on the several farms one thousand one hundred and sixty-four head of horned cattle, one hundred and forty horses, and nine thousand two hundred and eighteen sheep.

The returns in connection with the colonists,† their stock and produce, were as follow:—

Burghers	254
Wives of burghers and widows . . .	88
Children of burghers	231

* In October 1686 certain sumptuary laws were put in force in India by the directors.

† The number of burghers is always understated in the yearly lists, owing to the omission of names through carelessness or for some other cause.

European men servants	39
Men slaves	230
Women slaves	44
Slave children	36
Horses in possession of burghers	155
Horned cattle	2,951
Sheep	30,142
Muids of wheat from last crop	1,857
Muids of rye	197
Muids of barley	205
Vines bearing	402,900

During the last twenty years of the sixteenth century the population of Holland and Zeeland was largely increased by immigrants of the Protestant faith from the southern Netherland provinces. Many of these immigrants spoke no other language than French, and wherever they settled in sufficient numbers clergymen using that language were appointed to conduct religious services for them. In this manner numerous French and Walloon congregations were established throughout the free Netherlands.

These congregations, however, did not form separate churches, but only new branches of churches which previously existed in the towns where they settled. To each ecclesiastical fabric several clergymen were usually attached, and when a French congregation was formed one of these clergymen was selected to attend to it. In the same building where the ordinary Dutch services were held French services were conducted at different hours, the whole body of worshippers being united in one church, with its deacons, elders, and other officers.*

* The baptismal and marriage registers of these churches have been carefully examined by the French and Walloon Church Historical Society, as they furnish a great amount of curious as well as valuable information. The names and dates have been written on slips of paper and arranged alphabetically, so that investigation is now very easy. Through the kindness of Mr. Enschede, the highly esteemed archivist of Haarlem, in whose charge these slips are, I had an opportunity of inspecting them, and

During the century following the Pacification of Ghent, these congregations were constantly being augmented in size and in number by immigrants from France and Belgium, though gradually the settlers became undistinguishable, except by name, from other Netherlanders. Strong sympathy in religious matters and facility of obtaining employment were the attractions which drew French Protestants in numbers that more than compensated for the loss of those who by long residence became thoroughly Dutch.

When, therefore, about the year 1670 the larger stream of emigration, which was the result of the cruelties inflicted by Louis XIV upon his Protestant subjects, commenced to set out of France, there was no country to which the refugees looked more hopefully than towards the United Provinces. Numerous Protestant French families had branches already long settled there, so that when the immigrants arrived, they found men of their own tongue and blood, and very often of their own name, ready to welcome them. The world-wide commerce also, which had its centre in the free Netherlands, had created such a demand for labour of all kinds that many thousands of them found no difficulty in making new homes. But owing to this very cause the republic, though it had vast foreign possessions, could not become a great colonising country.

A few of the refugees who left France between 1670 and 1685 entered the service of the East India Company, and some of these were stationed in South Africa. On the 3rd of October 1685 the assembly of seventeen

thereby of obtaining in the course of a few hours some knowledge which I needed, and which otherwise would have taken me weeks to acquire. The Walloon Library, belonging to this Society, is kept in two rooms at Leiden. It contains only one South African work, a French sermon preached in the colony shortly after the arrival of the Huguenots. The talented secretary, Dr. Du Rieu, who is also librarian of the university, kindly gave me all possible assistance in prosecuting researches. (This note was written in 1882. Mr. Enschede died several years ago, and Dr. Du Rieu in December, 1869.)

passed a resolution to send out French refugees with other emigrants, but so few were found willing to leave Europe that in the course of two years only three or four were obtained. These were persons of irreproachable character, who gave no trouble to the government or employment to the courts of law.

The ordinances which annulled the edict of Nantes—issued by Louis XIV in October 1685—though they forbade the emigration of the Protestants, gave a tremendous impetus to the movement. But now, as it was not possible to leave the kingdom openly, every kind of property except money and jewels was of necessity abandoned. The fugitives, escaping in various disguises, were glad to cross the frontier in utter destitution as far as worldly wealth was concerned. One of the saddest features in this sad chapter in the history of human woe was the small number of women and children who escaped, compared with that of young and strong men. Very often a single youth found himself in safety after every other member of his family had perished or had been lost to sight for ever in prisons and convents.

During the two years that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes the towns of the free Netherlands were filled with refugees, still those who were suited to make good colonists generally managed to find employment. At the same time the Protestants were migrating in great numbers from the valleys of Piedmont, and, though most of these found homes in Switzerland and Germany, a few made their way to the United Provinces. When the directors of the East India Company met in the autumn of 1687 it seemed possible to obtain some Piedmontese and French families as colonists, and they therefore resolved to make another attempt.

With this view they promised, in addition to the advantages previously held out, that a clergyman speaking the French language should be engaged to accompany the emigrants, and that any refugee desiring to return to

Europe after the expiration of five years should be at liberty to do so. On the 28th of October they engaged the reverend Pierre Simond, minister of the French congregation at Zierickzee, at a salary of £7 10*s.* a month, to proceed to the Cape, and on the 5th of November they resolved, as a further inducement, to offer a gratuity of from £5 to £8 6*s.* 8*d.*, according to circumstances, to every head of a family, and from £2 10*s.* to £4 3*s.* 4*d.* to every young unmarried man or woman, to assist in procuring an outfit. Several small parties then consented to migrate, and on the 16th of this month the directors wrote to the commander and council that these would be sent out at once. The conditions under which the Huguenots agreed to come here as colonists were, with the exception already named, the same as those previously offered to natural subjects of the Netherlands. They were to be provided with free passages and with farms in full property without payment. They were to be supplied with all requisite farming stock at cost price on credit. They were to subscribe to the same oaths of allegiance as those taken by persons born in the United Provinces, and were to be in all respects treated in the same manner and to enjoy the same privileges as Netherlanders by birth.

While making such efforts to procure Huguenot emigrants, however, the directors had no intention of making the Cape a French colony. Owing to the competition arising from the influx of such numbers of refugees, it was now less difficult than it had hitherto been to obtain emigrants of Dutch blood, of whom more families than of French origin were being sent out at the same time, so that these, together with the settlers already in South Africa, would absorb the foreign element without undergoing any change. At no time did the French exceed in number one-sixth of the colonists, or one-eighth of the whole European population, the Company's servants included.

The directors hoped that the Huguenots would supply the knowledge which the Dutch colonists lacked in some particular kinds of industry believed to be suited to South Africa, such as the manufacture of wine and brandy and the cultivation of olives. The vine bore grapes here equal in flavour to any in the world, yet the wine and brandy hitherto made were greatly inferior to those of Europe. The olive tree was found wild, and the varieties introduced flourished as well apparently as in France or Spain, but the production of fruit had so far been a failure. Some of the Huguenots sent out were men who had been reared among the vineyards and olive groves of France, and who were acquainted not only with the best methods of cultivating the vines and trees, but with the manufacture of wine, brandy, and oil. At the same time, the directors were careful to lay down the rule that such occupations were not to be pursued to the neglect of the more important industries of growing wheat and rearing cattle.

Arrangements were made by the different chambers of the East India Company for the passages of the Huguenot emigrants to this colony, as they had been engaged in different provinces and could not all embark at the same port. As much as possible, families and friends were kept together.

The emigrants were sent out in the ships *Voorschoten*, *Borssenburg*, *Oosterland*, *China*, and *Zuid Beveland*. The *Voorschoten* sailed from Delftshaven on the 31st of December 1687, with the following passengers, according to a despatch from the chamber of Delft to the Cape government:—

Charles Marais, of Plessis,
Catherine Taboureux, his wife,
Claude Marais, 24 years old,
Charles Marais, 19 years old,
Isaac Marais, 10 years old,
Marie Marais, 6 years old,
} their children.
Philippe Fouché,
Anne Fouché, his wife,

Anne Fouché, 6 years old,
Esther Fouché, 5 years old, } their children.
Jacques Fouché, 3 years old,
Jacques Pinard, a carpenter, 23 years old,
Esther Fouché, his wife, 21 years old.
Marguerite Baché, unmarried woman, 23 years old.
Etienne Bruère, a waggon-maker, bachelor, 23 years old.
Pierre Sabatier, bachelor, 22 years old.
Jean le Roux, bachelor, 21 years old, } brothers, of Blois.
Gabriel le Roux, 17 years old,
Gideon Malherbe, bachelor, 25 years old.
Jean Pasté, bachelor, 25 years old.
Paul Godefroy, bachelor, 22 years old.
Gaspar Fouché, bachelor, 21 years old.

The *Borssenburg* sailed on the 6th of January 1688. Her passenger list has been lost from the archives of this colony and also from those at the Hague.

The *Oosterland* left Middelburg on the 29th of January 1688, having as passengers, according to a despatch of the chamber of that place to the Cape government:—

Jacques de Savoye, of Ath,
Marie Madeleine le Clerc, his wife,
Antoinette Carnoy, his mother-in-law,
Marguerite de Savoye, 17 years old,
Barbère de Savoye, 15 years old, } his children.
Jacques de Savoye, 9 months old,
Jean Prieur du Plessis, surgeon, of Poitiers,
Madeleine Menanteau, his wife.
Sarah Avicé, young unmarried woman.
Jean Nortier, agriculturist.
Jacob Nortier, „
Daniel Nortier, carpenter,
Marie Vytou, his wife.
Isaac Taillefer, vinedresser, of Thierry,
Susanne Briet, his wife,
Elizabeth Taillefer, 14 years old,
Jean Taillefer, 12 years old,
Isaac Taillefer, 7 years old,
Pierre Taillefer, 5 years old, } their children.
Susanne Taillefer, 2½ years old,
Marie Taillefer, 1 year old,
Jean Cloudon, shoemaker, of Condé.
Jean du Buis, agriculturist, of Calais.
Jean Parisel, agriculturist, of Paris.

The *China* sailed from Rotterdam on the 20th of March 1688, with the following passengers, according to a despatch from the chamber of that place:—

Jean Mesnard,
Louise Corbonne, his wife,
Jeanne Mesnard, 10 years old,
Georges Mesnard, 9 years old,
Jacques Mesnard, 8 years old,
Jean Mesnard, 7 years old,
Philippe Mesnard, 6 years old,
André Mesnard, 5 months old,
} their children.
Louis Corbonne, bachelor, 20 years old.
Jean Jourdan, bachelor, 28 years old.
Pierre Jourdan, of Cabrière, bachelor, 24 years old.
Marie Roux, 10 years old,
Marguerite Roux, 7 years old,
} orphans, nieces of Jean and Pierre Jourdan.
(A second) Pierre Jourdan, also a bachelor, 24 years old.
Pierre Joubert, 23 years old,
Isabeau Richard, his wife.
Susanne Réné, 20 years old, young unmarried woman.
Jacques Verdeau, 20 years old,
Hercule Verdeau, 16 years old,
} brothers.
Pierre la Grange, bachelor, 23 years old.
Matthieu Fracassé, bachelor, 26 years old.
André Pelanchon, 15 years old.
And twelve others who died before the ship reached her destination.

From the orphan chamber of Rotterdam eight young women at this time consented to migrate to South Africa, and were sent out with the French refugees in the *China*. They were described as being of unblemished reputation, industrious, and skilled in farm work. They were all married in the colony within a few months after their arrival, the last of them on the 8th of May 1689 to a young burgher of Stellenbosch. Their names were, Adriana van Son, Wilhelmina de Witt, Adriana van den Berg, Judith Verbeek, Petronella van Capelle, Judith van der Bout, Catharina van der Zee, and Anna van Kleef.

The *Zuid Beveland* sailed from Middelburg on the 22nd of April 1688. She brought out a number of passengers, but the list is missing at the Hague as well as in Capetown, and the only names known are those of

Pierre Simond, of Dauphiné, minister of the Gospel, and Anne de Berout, his wife.

The lists of names show that more men came out than women. This disproportion of the sexes was just what the Company wished to prevent, for it was the very evil that Commander Van der Stel was continually complaining of. And yet it could not be rectified, as in every group of refugees who escaped from France the number of males was enormously greater than that of females. Among the immigrants were several individuals who had occupied very good positions in their own country before the commencement of the persecution. The surgeon Du Plessis was of an ancient and noble family of Poitiers, though he was now penniless. Mr. De Savoye had been a wealthy merchant, but had saved nothing except his life and his family

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIMON VAN DER STEL'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

ON the 13th of April 1688 the *Voorschoten* arrived in Saldanha Bay, having put into that harbour on account of a strong south-east wind, against which she could not beat up to Table Bay. The rocky islands covered with sea-birds and the desolate country around formed a striking contrast to the beautiful France which the emigrants had left. Yet they would be cheered by the knowledge that in this secluded wilderness there was at any rate freedom to worship God in the manner their consciences approved of. From the Company's outpost at Saldanha Bay a message was sent overland to the castle reporting the *Voorschoten's* arrival, and stating that as the ship needed some repairs her officers thought it would be advisable to remain there to effect them. The cutter *Jupiter* was therefore sent from Table Bay with fresh provisions, and when she returned she brought the immigrants to the Cape.

On the 26th of April the *Oosterland* cast anchor in Table Bay, having made the passage from Middelburg in eighty-seven days, then one of the quickest runs on record. She was followed on the 12th of May by the *Borssenburg*.

On the 4th of August the *China* reached Table Bay, after a disastrous run of seven months from Rotterdam. Her crew and passengers were nearly all sick, and twenty individuals, twelve of whom were French refugees, had died during the passage.

Fifteen days later the *Zuid Beveland* cast anchor in Table Bay. The arrival of their pastor had been looked

forward to with anxiety by the Huguenots already here, so that by the time the first boat put off there was a little crowd of people waiting to welcome him on the wooden jetty, then the only pier in Table Bay. But just after the boat left the ship she was capsized by a sudden squall, and those on the jetty had the horror of seeing eight men drown before their eyes without being able to render them any aid. A few hours passed before communication could be had with the *Zuid Beveland*, when it was ascertained that the drowned men were three officers and five seamen of the ship.

The Dutch were accustomed to treat their clergymen with great respect, but they were incapable of participating in such feelings as those with which the Huguenots regarded their pastor. A French Protestant clergyman in those days was of necessity a man of earnest faith, of great bravery, of entire self-devotion, and such a man naturally inspired strong attachment. In the great persecution under Louis XIV the pastors stand out prominently as the most fearless of men. Nothing short of death could silence them, there was no form of suffering which they were not prepared to endure rather than forsake what they believed to be the truth. It was not from any superstitious reverence for their office, but on account of their force of character, that they were regarded with the highest esteem and affection.

The reverend Mr. Simond was a man of determined will, who possessed just those qualifications which would cause him to be regarded by his flock as a fit guide and counsellor in secular as well as in religious matters. A quantity of his correspondence is still in existence, and in it he shows himself to have been sadly lacking in charity towards those who differed from him in opinion, but that was the fault of the age rather than of the man. For his faith he gloried in having suffered, and for those of his own religion there was no honest sacrifice which he was not capable of making. As for the members of his

congregation, their interests and his own were inseparable. The little band of refugees who were about to make a home on South African soil for themselves and their children therefore felt their circle more complete after his arrival.

The Huguenots landed in South Africa without any property in goods or money. The East India Company sent out a quantity of ship's biscuit, peas, and salt meat, to be served out to them as provisions for a few months, and deal planks to make the woodwork of temporary houses. Whatever else they needed was to be supplied on credit from the Company's stores. From Europe they had no assistance to expect, for the demands upon the purses of the benevolent there were unceasing. A fund for their benefit was raised in the colony, to which each individual contributed in cattle, grain, or money, according to his circumstances. The amount subscribed is not mentioned, but Commander Van der Stel reported that it was very creditable to the old colonists and very serviceable to the refugees. It was given to the reverend Mr. Simond and the deacons of Stellenbosch for distribution.

The burgher councillors furnished six waggons free of charge to convey the immigrants to their destination. The heemraden of Stellenbosch supplied six more to be used until the refugees should be all settled. Some of the Huguenots were located in and about Stellenbosch, but the larger number at Drakenstein and French Hoek. Particular care was taken not to locate them by themselves, but to mix them as much as possible with the Dutch colonists who were already here or who were arriving at the same time. This was almost from the day of their landing a point of disagreement between them and the commander, for they expressed a strong desire not to be separated. Several even refused to accept the allotments of ground which were offered to them, and in preference engaged themselves as servants to some of the others.

With regard to church services, an arrangement was made that Mr. Simond should preach in French on alternate Sundays at Stellenbosch and at the house of a burgher at Drakenstein. The sick-comforter Mankadan was to read a sermon and prayers in Dutch at Stellenbosch when the minister was at Drakenstein, and at Drakenstein when the minister was at Stellenbosch. Once in three months Mr. Simond was to preach at the Cape, and then the reverend Mr. Van Andel was to hold service in Dutch and administer the sacraments at Stellenbosch.

This was in accordance with the custom of the Netherlands, or as closely so as circumstances would permit. There, the refugees as they arrived formed branch congregations of established churches; here, they formed a branch congregation of the church of Stellenbosch. That church, though as yet without a resident Dutch clergyman, had a fully organised consistory, which was presided over by the minister of the Cape acting as consulent. It was an arrangement which was designed to meet the wants of both sections of the community, but it did not satisfy the French, who desired to have a church entirely of their own.

The refugees commenced the work of building and planting with alacrity. Those who had been accustomed to manual labour soon erected rough dwellings of clay walls and thatched roofs and laid out vegetable gardens, but there were men among them who had been bred in the lap of ease, and to whom such toil was exceptionally severe. These fared badly at first, but with some assistance in labour from their countrymen they also were able to make a good commencement in farming. The Company had promised to supply them with slaves as soon as possible, but was at this time unable to procure any.

Those who were located at Drakenstein had hardly got roofs above their heads when they addressed the commander upon the subject of a school for the education

of their children. He approved of their request, and on the 8th of November 1688 Paul Roux, of Orange in France, who understood both languages, was appointed schoolmaster of Drakenstein. He was to receive a salary of 25*s.* and a ration allowance of 12*s.* 6*d.* a month, and in addition to his duties as a teacher he was to act as church clerk.*

A few months after the first party of Huguenots left the Netherlands a number of others were engaged to come out as colonists. They embarked in the ships *Wapen van Alkmaar* and *Zion.* The first of these vessels left Texel on the 27th of July 1688, and arrived in Table Bay on the 27th of January 1689. She brought out about forty immigrants, young and old. The *Zion* arrived on the 6th of May 1689, and in her came three brothers named Abraham, Pierre, and Jacob de Villiers, who were vinedressers from the neighbourhood of La Rochelle.

Shortly after the refugees arrived in South Africa, the consistory of Batavia sent a sum of money equal to twelve hundred and fifty English sovereigns to be distributed among them according to their needs. This money had constituted the poor funds of a church at Formosa which was destroyed by an enemy, but the guardians managed to save their trust, and deposited it with the deacons at Batavia to be used for charitable purposes. Nowadays £1,250 may not seem a very large amount, but if its purchasing power at that time be considered it will be found to have been a generous and noble gift, and it was appreciated as such by those whose wants it was intended to relieve. It was decided that all the Huguenots should share in this present, except a very few who were otherwise provided for.

* This was not an exceptionally small salary. The schoolmaster of the Cape received only £1 7*s.* 9*d.* a month, in addition to a fee of eight pence for each pupil, "if the parents, whether Company's servants or burghers, could afford to pay it." The schoolmaster of Stellenbosch received more, but he had various other duties to perform. All of them were provided with a free house and a garden.

The money was distributed on the 18th and 19th of April 1690, by commissioners who had taken every individual's needs into consideration. A copy of the list of distribution is in the archives at the Hague, and it is given here, as it contains the names of those who arrived in the *Borssenburg*, *Zuid Beveland*, and *Wapen van Alkmaar*, and shows further what havoc death had made in the little band of refugees previous to this date, with some other particulars. With a few names added from another document, it forms a complete list of the Huguenots who settled in South Africa at this period.

Pierre Lombard, a sick man, with wife and one child	£52	1	8
Isaac Taillefer, with wife and four children	50	0	0
Pierre Jacob, with wife and three children	44	8	10⅔
Widow of Charles Marais, with four children	41	13	4
Philippe Fouché, with wife and two children	41	13	4
Abraham de Villiers, with wife and two brothers	39	11	8
Matthieu Arniel, with wife and two children	38	3	10⅔
Hercule du Pré, with wife and five children	35	8	4
Louis Cordier, with wife and four children	32	19	8⅔
Jean le Long, with wife and two children	32	12	9⅓
Widow of Charles Prévot remarried to Hendrik Eekhof), with four children by her deceased husband	31	5	0
Marguerite Perrotit, widow with two children	30	11	1⅓
Jean du Plessis, with wife and one child	29	17	2⅔
Daniel de Ruelle, with wife and one child	29	3	4
Jean Mesnard, widower with four children	28	2	6
Pierre Joubert, with wife and one child	28	2	6
Nicolas de Lanoy, with mother and brother	27	15	6⅔
Pierre Rousseau, with wife and one child	27	15	6⅔
Guillaume Nel, with wife and two children	25	0	0
Daniel Nortier, with wife and one child	24	16	1⅓
Gideon Malherbe, with wife	21	10	6⅔
Jacques Pinard, with wife	20	16	8
Etienne Bruère, with his espoused, Esther de Ruelle	19	15	10
Marie and Marguerite Roux, two little orphans	19	8	10⅔
Esaias and Susanne Costeux, two orphans now living with Nicolaas Cleef	17	7	2⅔
Jean Jourdan, with wife	15	19	5⅓
Jean Margra, with wife	13	17	9⅓
Widow Antoinette Carnoy	13	17	9⅓

Louis Fourié	£11	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Jacob Vivier and Etienne Viret, each £10 8 4	20	16	8
Jean Cloudon and Jean Durand, each £9 14 $5\frac{1}{3}$	19	8	$10\frac{2}{3}$
Louis Barré, Pierre Jourdan, Pierre Roux, Jacques Thérond, François Rétif, Jean le Roux, Gabriel le Roux, David Sénéchal, Salomon Gournai, Jean Joubert, Jean Nortier, Daniel Couvat, and Pierre Meyer, each £9 0 $6\frac{2}{3}$	117	7	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Jean Roi and Jean Roux (or le Roux) of Provence, and Matthieu Fracassé, together	26	7	$9\frac{1}{3}$
Marie le Long (married to Adriaan van Wyk)	8	6	8
Daniel Hugod, Michel Martineau, and Hercule Verdeau, each £8 6 8	25	0	0
Antoine Gros, Daniel Terrier, and Paul Godefroy, together	24	13	$0\frac{2}{3}$
Jacques Malan and Pierre Jourdan, each £7 19 $8\frac{2}{3}$	15	19	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Nicolas la Tatte and Jean Gardé, each £7 12 $9\frac{1}{3}$	15	5	$6\frac{2}{3}$
Abraham Vivier and Pierre Vivier, each £7 5 10	14	11	8
Elizabeth du Pré, young unmarried woman	6	18	$10\frac{2}{3}$
André Pelanchon, Louis Corbonne, Pierre la Grange, Pierre Batté, Antoine Martin, Zacharie Mantior, Jacob Nortier, Jean Parisel, and Pierre Rochefort, each £6 18 $10\frac{2}{3}$	62	10	0
Jean Magnet	6	5	0
Pierre Sabatier and Pierre Beneset, together	11	16	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Jean du Buis	5	11	1
Abraham Beluzé	5	4	2
Jean Roux, of Normandy	4	17	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Jean Mysal	4	3	4
Pierre le Fèbre (wife and three children)	3	9	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Guillaume du Toit (wife and one child)	3	9	$5\frac{1}{3}$
François du Toit (wife)	3	9	$5\frac{1}{3}$

Those who were otherwise provided for, or who did not need assistance from this fund, were:—

Rev. Pierre Simond, with wife and one child,
Jacques de Savoye, with wife and two children,
Louis de Berout, with wife and three children,
Pierre Barillé, with wife,
André Gaucher,
Paul Brasier, and
Paul Roux.

This list gives a total of one hundred and seventy-six souls, while in despatches of nearly the same date from the Cape government the number of Huguenots of all

ages in the colony is stated to be one hundred and fifty-five. But in the last case those in the service of the Company were certainly not included, and possibly those who were married into Dutch families would not be reckoned. It is more than likely also that out of these hundred and seventy-six souls there must have been several who, from long residence in the Netherlands, would not be considered refugees by Commander Van der Stel. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that many names in the list had been familiar in the Low Countries for two or three generations. Thus, a branch of the family Le Fèbre had been settled at Middelburg since 1574, there had been De Lanoys at Leiden since 1648, Nels at Utrecht since 1644, Du Toits at Leiden since 1605, Cordiers at Haarlem since 1627, Jouberts at Leiden since 1645, Malans at Leiden since 1625, Malherbes at Dordrecht since 1618, and Mesnards at Leiden since 1638.

Before the *Wapen van Alkmaar* sailed, the directors had it in contemplation to send out a party of six or seven hundred Vaudois, all of the labouring class, and most of them understanding some handiwork as well as agriculture. This party had taken refuge in Nuremberg, where they were in such distress that they sent deputies to beg assistance from the states-provincial of Holland and West Friesland, and offered to migrate in a body to any colony of the Netherlands. Their wretched condition incited the warmest compassion of the states, who, after providing for their temporary relief, addressed the directors of the East and West India Companies, asking whether either of those associations would be willing to receive the applicants as colonists.

The assembly of seventeen replied, offering to settle these poor people, their oldest co-religionists as they termed them, at the Cape of Good Hope; and arrangements were thereafter made for sending them out. The states-provincial agreed to contribute a sum of money, equal to £4 3*s.* 4*d.* for each emigrant, towards the expense

of furnishing them with outfits for the voyage and conveying them from Nuremberg to Amsterdam, where they were to embark. The Company was to provide them with free passages, to supply them on credit with building materials and provisions for seven or eight months after their arrival in the colony, and was further to treat them in every respect as Dutch subjects and to allow them all the privileges granted to previous emigrants. But when the arrangements were concluded, the Vaudois declined to go so far away, so that the project of sending them here fell through.

During the next twenty years individuals of French origin continued to arrive with other immigrants occasionally in the colony, but never more than two or three families at a time. The subject of emigration, from having been a prominent one in the discussions of the directors of the East India Company, disappears from their records after June 1688. Exciting events were taking place in Europe, which occupied their attention to the exclusion of everything that was not of primary importance. The summer of this year was passed in anxiety, for it was feared that war with France and England combined was imminent, and the first thought of the directors was the protection, not the enlargement, of their possessions. In the autumn the garrison of the Cape was increased by one hundred and fifty men. Then followed the landing of the prince of Orange in England, the seizure of Dutch ships and the imprisonment of their crews by the French government, and finally war with France. While such events were transpiring, no thought could be bestowed upon colonisation.

The commander, Simon van der Stel, would much rather have seen Netherlanders alone coming to South Africa, but as the supreme authorities chose to send out French refugees he could not do otherwise than receive them and deal with them according to his instructions. It was impossible for him to be as friendly with them as

with his own countrymen, still he did not at first treat them with undue reserve. In 1689 he appointed Jacques de Savoye a heemraad of Stellenbosch, and he stood sponsor at the baptism of one of his children and of a child of the reverend Mr. Simond.

With most of the Huguenots the first difficulties of settling in a new country were speedily overcome; houses were built, very small and rough it is true, but still giving shelter from sun and storm, gardens were placed under cultivation, and as the crops of the first season were particularly good there was no want of the necessaries of life. A few, however, who declined to accept farms at Stellenbosch, were in very poor circumstances. The manner in which they had been located was by all felt as a grievance, though as each one gradually improved his property it was a grievance which would naturally soon disappear. But there was another cause of discontent, which was that they were considered by the government as part of the congregation of Stellenbosch, whereas they understood the promise of the directors that they should have a clergyman of their own as implying that they should form a congregation by themselves. The commander declined to take any notice of individual representations on this subject, and the Huguenots therefore resolved to proceed in a more formal manner.

On the 28th of November 1689 a deputation, consisting of the reverend Pierre Simond, Jacques de Savoye, Daniel de Ruelle, Abraham de Villiers, and Louis Cordier, appeared at the castle, and on behalf of their countrymen requested to be permitted to establish a separate church of their own. The commander broke into a furious passion. He declared that the project was rank sedition, and that the French were the most impertinent and ungrateful people on the face of the earth. It is not only their own church, said he, that they want, but their own magistrate and their own prince. They shall have nothing of the kind. Here have we been treating them actually

better than our own Netherlanders, and this is the way they turn upon us.

The commander called the council together, but not to ask advice so much as to express his opinion of the French. The deputation was for some time left waiting in an outer room. By-and-bye they were reminded of the oath of allegiance which they had taken, and were ordered to return at once to their homes, the commander informing them that they must be satisfied to remain as they were, a branch congregation of the church of Stellenbosch.

The clergyman Simond had written to the supreme authorities concerning the grievances of the Huguenots some five months previously, and nothing further could be done until a reply to his letter should be received. And now for a time the two nationalities, which were so soon thereafter to be inseparably blended together, regarded each other with a bitter spirit of hostility.

The commander saw in the projects of the Huguenots nothing but an attempt to thwart his darling scheme of a pure Dutch colony, they saw in him nothing but a determination to compel them to be Dutch, whether they would or not. On both sides very rash words were uttered. In open meeting the French resolved not to intermarry with the Dutch, forgetting apparently that if such a resolution could be carried out, most of them could never marry at all. There were individuals among them who did not scruple to say that having braved the anger of the great king of France, they would be ashamed of themselves if they were afraid of the commander Van der Stel. Many of the Dutch colonists ceased to hold intercourse with the French, and some were even reported to have said that they would rather give bread to a Hottentot or to a dog than to a Frenchman.

On the 6th of December 1690 the assembly of seventeen took the request of the reverend Mr. Simond on behalf of the Huguenots at the Cape into consideration

and resolved to permit them to establish a church at Drakenstein under the following conditions :—

1. The deacons and elders chosen yearly were to be approved of by the council of policy, which meant in practice that a double list of names should be submitted by the consistory, the same as at Stellenbosch, from which the council should make a selection of deacons, and that the elders nominated by the consistory could be rejected if they were not considered suitable persons.

2. A political commissioner was to have a seat in the consistory.

3. Important matters were to be brought before the church council of the Cape, in which deputies from the country consistories were then to have seats.

4. The consistory of Drakenstein was to have control of poor funds raised by the congregation, but contributions sent from abroad were to be under the control of the combined church council.

With regard to schools, the teachers at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein were to be men who understood both languages, and care was to be taken that the French children should be taught Dutch.

Lastly, the request of the Huguenots to be located together was refused, and the government of the Cape was instructed, when granting ground, to mix the nationalities together so that they might speedily amalgamate.

The despatch in which these resolutions were embodied reached the Cape in June 1691, and on the 30th of the following December the people of Drakenstein were formed into a separate congregation by the appointment of elders and deacons from among themselves. The elders chosen by the council were Claude Marais, Louis de Berout, and Louis Cordier, and the deacons were Abraham de Villiers, Pierre Meyer, Pierre Beneset, and Pierre Rousseau.

This arrangement satisfied the Huguenots, though in all other respects matters ecclesiastical remained several

years longer as before. The clergyman Simond continued to reside in the village of Stellenbosch, and held services alternately in the church there and in a room at Drakenstein. Early in 1694 he moved to a residence built for him among the Huguenots, and after that date only preached occasionally at Stellenbosch. The earliest baptismal entry in the church books of Drakenstein is on the 29th of August 1694. The first pages of the register were written by Paul Roux, who was clerk and schoolmaster, and they show clearly that the proportion of Dutch members in the congregation was from the very commencement large.

Before 1691 most of the Huguenots who had been located elsewhere managed to purchase ground at Drakenstein, and when the next census was taken only three French families were found residing in Stellenbosch. Already there had been several intermarriages, and henceforward the blending of the two nationalities proceeded so rapidly that in the course of two generations the descendants of the Huguenot refugees were not to be distinguished from other colonists except by their names.

At the same time that the Huguenots were settling in South Africa Dutch colonists in equal numbers were settling here also. Some of them had families, others were just married, and others still were single men and women, precisely as was the case with the French. A few Germans with Dutch wives also settled in the colony at this time. Some of these immigrants left no children, but all of those whose names follow have descendants here at the present day, though two or three of them in the female line only: Lourens Backstroo, Pieter Bekker, Booy Booysen, Frederik Botha, Hans Jacob Brits, Theunis de Bruyn, Barend Burger, Lourens Campher, Bastiaan Colyn, Jan Cruywagen, Jan van Dyk, Adriaan van Eck, Pieter Erasmus, Albertus Gildenhuyzen, Christoffel Groenewald, Hans Hendrik Hattingh, Cornelis Knoetzen, Jan Kotze, Matthys Krugel, Barend Lubbe, Godfried Meyhuyzen, Philip Morkel, Andries Oelofse, Jan Oosthuyzen, Wemmer

Pasman, Pieter van der Poel, Michiel Cornelis Smuts, Christoffel Snyman, Jan Swart, Adam Tas, Hendrik Venter, Jan Vosloo, Gerrit van Vuuren, Matthys Wiegman, Gerrit Willemse, and Willem van Zyl.

The new settlers were provided with farms sufficiently large for agricultural purposes, chiefly in the valley of the Berg river as far down as the Green mountain beyond the present village of Wellington, though a few were scattered about the Koeberg and the Tigerberg, and a few others over the land near the head of False Bay. There was no longer a feeling of isolation among the residents beyond the isthmus, for their houses were no great distance apart. The farms were held in freehold, and were too small for cattle-rearing purposes, but the whole land that was not given out was regarded as a common pasture.

The Goringhaiquas and Cochoquas were thus losing every year more and more of the country that had been theirs for many generations, yet they were never more friendly. There was still room enough and to spare for all. The kraals of the Hottentots were thinly scattered over the country, and were moved from place to place just as in olden times, except that they could not be erected on ground occupied by white men. These people had become poor in cattle, owing partly to the waste caused by their perpetual feuds, partly to depredations by Bushmen, and partly to their willingness to exchange oxen for brandy and tobacco. The burghers were forbidden to trade with them, under severe penalties, but in defiance of the placaats and of the punishment which invariably followed conviction, some of the least respectable carried on an extensive barter.

At length the clans became so impoverished that, to assist them, in 1696 the government supplied them with some cattle to tend on shares, but the effort to restore them to their former condition was fruitless. Of their own accord they referred their most weighty disputes to the European authorities for settlement, and upon

the death of a captain they always applied for the confirmation of his successor. A staff with a copper head, upon which was engraved on one side the Company's monogram and on the other the name given by the white men to the new captain, was considered by the Hottentots even beyond the settlement indispensable to the exercise of chieftainship.

The colonists would gladly have employed some hundreds of Hottentots, if they could have been induced to take service, but the men loved their wild, free, idle life too well to exchange it for one of toil. They had no objection, however, to do light work occasionally to earn tobacco and spirits, and in harvesting especially they were very useful. They were willing also to hire out their female children, and by this means a few household servants were obtained and a knowledge of the Dutch language was spread. None of them had yet progressed so far in civilisation as to make gardens for themselves, or in any way to cultivate the ground.

The clans could not always be prevented from engaging in hostilities with each other. The two captains of the Chainouquas, Klaas and Koopman, were frequently quarrelling, but before 1691 whenever they came to open war the commander interfered on behalf of Klaas, who was held to be a faithful ally of the Company. Through his agency large herds of cattle were obtained as they were required, though the farmers were constantly encouraged to breed oxen and sheep for slaughter, so as to insure a supply of meat under any circumstances.

A barbarian, however, is incapable of continuing long in any pursuit that demands much exertion, and Klaas got weary of travelling about the country purchasing cattle for the Company, whose wants must have seemed to him insatiable. It became necessary again to send out trading parties of Europeans, and these so excited his jealousy that he did his utmost to put obstacles in their way. This conduct led rapidly to something more unfriendly,

and in 1692 he used threatening language towards Ensign Schryver, the head of a bartering party.

Koopman was not slow to take advantage of the new condition of things. He came to the castle with an accusation against Klaas of being in league with those burghers who were carrying on an illicit trade, and he professed to have so great a regard for the Company's interests as to be willing to place his services entirely at the disposal of the government. In the minute details of these events entered in the records of the time, there is found an exact counterpart of numerous well-known transactions of Bantu chiefs of the present day. The result was that Koopman became an ally of the honourable Company, and Klaas was regarded as an ill-affected mischief-maker. Thus the government completely changed sides with the rival branches of the Chainouqua tribe. Klaas had as wife a daughter of Goukou, paramount chief of the Hessequas, who was commonly called the oude heer by the colonists. His people and the Hessequas were living in close friendship.

On the 20th of April 1693 an urgent request for help was received at the castle from Koopman, who represented that he was about to be attacked by Klaas and the Hessequas. It was therefore resolved to send Captain Willem Padt with a hundred soldiers and a hundred burghers to Koopman's assistance, with instructions to endeavour to capture Klaas.

The commando, aided by Koopman's adherents, surrounded Klaas's kraal in the night, took possession of his cattle, and arrested him and two of his leading men. Some of his followers who attempted to escape were killed by Koopman's people. The cattle were driven to the Kuilen, where they were counted and divided between Koopman and the honourable Company.

On the 8th of August the three prisoners were brought before the council of policy. Klaas admitted some of the charges against him, but endeavoured to give a satisfac-

tory explanation of his conduct. He denied having ever had hostile designs against the Company. The council admitted that he had not been guilty of any overt act of war, and, on the 17th of August, resolved that as no Christian blood had been shed, further proceedings against the prisoners should be dropped, but to secure tranquillity Klaas should be detained on Robben Island.

The fate of the unfortunate Hottentot, who had once been regarded as the most trustworthy of his race, and who had befriended many Europeans in distress, called forth a large amount of sympathy. Intercession was made to the government on his behalf, and in January 1694 he was released from confinement and permitted to live near Muizenburg* with some of his retainers. He had previously been ill, and had been brought to the mainland for medical treatment, but upon recovery had been sent back to the island. When he was allowed to reside at Muizenburg, his wife, the daughter of Goukou, was sent for. She had lived with him about ten years, but when he was arrested by Captain Padt, Koopman had taken her with other spoil. Her father had never visited the Cape, but as a partisan of Klaas he came to the castle on this occasion. The woman was asked by the governor if she desired to live with her husband, and replied that she preferred to remain with Koopman.

A little later Klaas was allowed to return to his old kraal, upon giving a promise to live quietly and peaceably. But he and Koopman at once resumed their quarrel. In February 1697 both were summoned to the Cape, and an apparent reconciliation was effected. Goukou, whose friendship was valued, as he was considered the most wealthy and powerful of all the Hottentot chiefs in the

* Of recent years this place has usually come to be known as Muizenberg, a mode of spelling that may possibly become fixed, as the mountain behind it is now also called by the same name. In olden times the mountain was known as the Steenberg, and its eastern base as Muizenburg, or Muysenburg, after a military officer named Muys.

neighbourhood of the colony, appeared again on this occasion as the friend of Klaas.

The captains had hardly returned to their kraals when fighting between them was renewed. Goukou's daughter changed her mind and attempted to return to Klaas, upon which Koopman put her to death. In retaliation Klaas and the Hessequas attacked Koopman, and took his cattle together with some belonging to the Company which were in his charge. A sergeant and twelve men were then sent from the castle to request Klaas to restore the Company's property, but he could not comply, as the oxen had already been killed and eaten. This matter brought him into disfavour again, and thenceforth he was regarded as the principal mischief-maker in the country. Occasionally he visited the Cape in company with Goukou, and promised to live in peace with Koopman, but the promise was soon disregarded. The feud between the two captains was kept up until in a skirmish between them in June 1701 Klaas was killed. The story, as written at the time in minute detail, might be copied as a faithful description of a quarrel between Bantu clans to-day.

Other Hottentot communities farther from the European settlement were engaged in the same way destroying each other.

In March 1689 the Namaquas and Grigriquas crossed the Elephant river in such force that fifty-two kraals were counted on the southern side. Less than two years previously the Grigriquas had sent a present of six oxen to the castle, and had stated their wish to continue in friendship with the Europeans. The messengers had been well received, and had left pleased and satisfied. Though nothing had occurred since that time to disturb the peace with either them or the Namaquas, this inroad alarmed the settlers, and the farmers of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch prepared for defence. But it soon appeared that the Cochoquas, not the Europeans, were to be the victims.

The invaders attacked a kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off the women, children, and cattle as booty.

The commander did not see fit to interfere in this disturbance, though the Cochoquas were said to be under the protection of the Dutch. But when a similar raid was made at the end of the following year, he sent thirty or forty soldiers to preserve order. The invaders were then attacked, and several thousand head of cattle were captured. The whole of the booty was restored, however, and in addition some presents of tobacco and spirits were made, upon the late disturbers of the peace entreating a renewal of friendship and promising not to repeat the offence. In the interval between these events the old chief Oedasoa died. One of his brothers thereupon applied to the commander to be appointed in his stead, when he received a staff of office and was named Hannibal.

A few years later the Grigriqua tribe gave offence by harbouring runaway slaves. In December 1696 Ensign Schryver was sent with thirty soldiers and twenty burghers to endeavour to obtain the fugitives in friendly barter. If the Grigriquas would not restore them, the ensign was instructed to seize some individuals, male or female, and bring them to the castle as hostages. The expedition was not successful in finding the tribe. Some friendly Hottentots, however, secured two Grigriquas, who were detained at the castle for a couple of months. One of them was then sent to his people with a friendly message asking for the slaves. He did not return, and the other was shortly afterwards released.

In March 1693 four Hessequa kraals were pillaged by the Attaquas. As this was the normal condition of all the tribes that were known, there can be little doubt that those at a greater distance were engaged in the same kind of strife.

It happened occasionally that crimes were committed by Hottentots against Europeans, and in such instances the offenders were tried by the Dutch tribunals, and punished according to Dutch law. Thefts were not uncommon, but other offences were rare. During a long course of years only one crime more serious than cattle-lifting occurred, a colonist, the elder Charles Marais, having been murdered by a Hottentot at Drakenstein in April 1689. The offender was tried and executed. Hottentots committing crimes against their own people were left to be dealt with by their own laws, the policy of the government being not to interfere with them further than was necessary for the safety and welfare of the Europeans.

The Bushmen had retreated from the open country occupied by the white people, but parties of them occasionally came down from the Drakenstein mountains and committed depredations in the valley below. They were regarded as outlaws, and if any had been captured they would have received very little mercy. But they were too wary and fleet of foot to be made prisoners of. The Hottentots pursued them with greater success. Before Captain Klaas fell into disfavour, he was almost constantly scouring the mountains in his neighbourhood in search of them, and though on several occasions they nearly brought him to ruin by sweeping off his herds, he managed to destroy a large number of them. In April 1694 some of them made a descent upon Koopman's kraals, and drove off fully half of his cattle. The Hottentot captain applied for assistance to the governor, and ten soldiers under a sergeant were sent to his aid. The Bushmen were followed up, most of the cattle were recovered, and sixteen or seventeen of the marauders were shot.

Agriculture was now so far advanced in the colony that sufficient grain was produced for the consumption of the inhabitants and the garrison and the refreshment of the people of the fleets. In good seasons there was a sur-

plus of fifteen hundred or two thousand muids of wheat, which was exported to Batavia. Experience had taught the government, however, always to keep two years' supply in the magazines, so as to provide against a season of drought, or the destruction of the crops by locusts or caterpillars. The Company had not yet altogether abandoned farming operations, but it was gradually doing so, as it could depend upon obtaining supplies of food from the colonists. It had still, besides the garden in Table Valley and the vineyard at Rondebosch, seven farms, or cattle places as they were called, in different parts of the country, the most remote being at Hottentots-Holland. On two of these farms a few hundred muids of wheat were grown, but the others were merely stations for breeding cattle and for keeping oxen and sheep purchased from the Hottentots until they were required for the fleets.

The Company was also making efforts to improve the existing stock of cattle and to introduce new breeds. Horses, originally brought from Java, had increased satisfactorily in number, but had deteriorated in size and appearance. These useful animals were so indispensable, however, that small as they were they brought at auction from £4 to £5 each, or as much as four or five large oxen in prime condition. To improve the breed, in 1689 the Company imported some stud horses from Persia. At the same time some Persian asses were introduced, and during several years thereafter stock of this kind continued to arrive by way of Ceylon. Spanish rams were sent out, as the directors thought it possible that the valuable kirman hair might be produced by a cross between those animals and South African sheep.

The cultivation of wheat was the first object with the farmers, because it brought relatively a higher price than any other product. Next to growing wheat, rearing cattle was the most profitable occupation. The production of wine followed, the Company purchasing it at £5 a legger, or five hundred and seventy-six litres, for the use of the

fleets. It was not saleable in India, on account of its being of very inferior quality. Some of it was converted into vinegar for the use of the seamen.

In March 1689 intelligence reached South Africa that all Dutch ships in French harbours had been seized, and that on the 26th of the preceding November the king of France had declared war against the United Netherlands. It was feared that England would join the enemy, but that apprehension was removed a few days later, when despatches were received in which it was stated that the prince of Orange had landed at Torbay and had been welcomed by the English people as their deliverer.

On the 26th of April the French ship *Normande*, from Pondicherry, with a valuable cargo on board, put into Table Bay. Captain De Courcelles, her commander, knew nothing of recent events in Europe, and believed he was anchoring in a friendly port. He sent a boat ashore with a complimentary message to the Dutch authorities, the bearers of which were made prisoners as soon as they entered the castle. The boat was then manned with Dutch sailors dressed like the French, who kept her flag flying, and pretended to put off from the shore.

The *Normande* now commenced to fire a salute, and while her people were thus engaged, she was boarded by the crews of the Dutch ships in port. There was a short scuffle, in which no one was killed, though two Dutchmen and eight Frenchmen were wounded, and which ended in the surrender of Captain De Courcelles and his crew. The French flag was left flying on the *Normande*, so as to decoy her consort, the *Coche*, to a similar fate.

On the evening of the 5th of May the *Coche* came to anchor, and shortly afterwards saluted the Dutch flag with nine guns, a compliment which was at once returned with the same number. She had no communication with he shore, but late in the evening she sent a boat to the *Normande*. As the boat did not return, and as a large Dutch ship was evidently ranging alongside, shortly after

midnight Captain D'Armagnan became alarmed, and commenced to prepare the *Coche* for action. Seeing this, the master of the *Nederland* poured in a broadside at less distance than his own ship's length, when Captain D'Armagnan and three of his crew were killed and eight others were wounded. With five hostile ships around them, the officers of the *Coche* saw no chance of defending her successfully, and they therefore surrendered.

Both the prizes were plundered by the Dutch seamen immediately after their capture. The value of their cargoes was estimated at £50,000. The *Normande* and the *Coche* were renamed the *Goede Hoop* and the *Afrika*, and were sent to Europe with the next fleet of the Company. The prisoners, one hundred and forty in number, were forwarded to Batavia, to be detained there until an exchange could be effected.

The capture of these vessels was a fortunate occurrence for Commander Van der Stel. Some time before the war broke out he had received from the king of France a present of a gold chain and medal with a portrait of that monarch, in return for the civilities shown by him to the fleets which called at Table Bay in 1685 and 1687. The directors did not approve of his receiving this present, and it might have fared ill with him if fortune had not furnished an opportunity of clearing himself of suspicion.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SIMON VAN DER STEL'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

AT this time a change in the form of conducting public business was made, which continued in operation during the next century. The simplicity of manners and honesty of purpose which were characteristic of the early Dutch traders in the Indian islands disappeared with the establishment of the great power which they built up, and before the close of the seventeenth century corruption in the administration of affairs had become widespread throughout the Asiatic possessions of the Company. There were many men of sterling honesty and of great ability in its service, but the majority of the higher officers were unscrupulous in their pursuit of wealth. In some of the dependencies private trading was practised to such an extent as to destroy the whole of the Company's profits. Worse still, many officials used the power entrusted to them to make money in ways that were decidedly criminal. The remedy would seem to be in making the service attractive by offering liberal salaries to men of talent, while prohibiting every description of private trade and making it penal to take bribes under the name of fees or presents. But in those days of experiments in governing dependencies, this remedy did not occur to the directors, or if any one made such a suggestion it was not acted upon. The only commerce reserved exclusively for the Company was that in the various kinds of spices, and had any one dared to deal on his own account in a kilogramme of pepper or cinnamon, cloves or nutmegs, he would have been very severely punished. With this ex-

ception, the old system of small salaries, with permission to receive fees for various services and to trade to a moderate extent, continued in favour.

The directors tried to check the evil by a kind of dual government. In March 1688 they created the new office of independent fiscal, differing greatly from that of the guardians of the law in former times. Before 1690 the fiscals at the Cape were only junior merchants in rank, and the most important duty which they performed was to conduct prosecutions in criminal cases. They were subject to the head of the government just as much as ordinary clerks were. The independent fiscals were responsible to the supreme directory alone, and were free of all local control. To them was confided the regulation of justice. By right of their office, they had a seat in the council of policy next to the secunde, and had access to records, registers, and state papers of every kind. They had entire control of all accounts connected with ships' cargoes, supplies of food for the garrison, and other expenditure. Such were the duties assigned to those appointed to the possessions of the Company in India, and the system at the Cape was made uniform with that elsewhere.

It was hoped that with these extensive powers the independent fiscals would be a check upon corrupt governors, commanders, and subordinate officers of every grade. But no care was taken to put them in a position where they would be unexposed to temptation themselves. Their salaries were inadequate, and they were permitted to charge various fees. They had summary jurisdiction in petty criminal cases, and were allowed to retain for their own benefit one third of the fines which they inflicted. The first independent fiscal at the Cape, Mr. Cornelis Joan Simons, who was appointed in 1689, had a salary from the Company of only £100 a year.

There seemed now to the directors to be a good prospect of attaining the objects which the East India Com-

pany had in view when forming a settlement at the Cape. Refreshments for the crews of their fleets could be had in ample quantities. Hitherto, however, the expense of their establishment had been so great that they looked upon it as the dearest victualling station in the world. The formation of what was for those days a considerable colony should, they thought, enable them to reduce their expenditure, first, by furnishing a body of militia, so that a large garrison would be unnecessary, and secondly, by producing food at cheaper rates than formerly.

In their despatches they pointed out that while wheat was being sold in the Netherlands at 6*s.* 8*d.* the muid, they were then paying 12*s.* 6*d.*, and even 13*s.* 11*d.*, the muid for it at the Cape. In the Netherlands the farmers had to pay rent as well as tithes and heavy taxes, while at the Cape they had no rent whatever to pay, and hardly any taxes. They were of opinion, therefore, that the price could be gradually reduced to that of the fatherland, and that the farmers would still be left in a much better condition than those in Europe.

They were further of opinion that the colony ought to produce for exportation a sufficient quantity of wheat, wine, and olive oil to enable them, after paying a fair price to the farmers, to defray a considerable portion of the cost of government out of the profits of the sale of such articles. With this view they directed the commander to continue making experiments with different kinds of vines until he should ascertain which was best, that the colonists might know what was the right sort to plant. With regard to the olive, they expressed great disappointment that its cultivation had apparently not been persevered in, and directed that it should be carefully attended to.

The commander replied that experiments with vines were being made in the Company's gardens, by several of the farmers, and by himself at Constantia. As for the olive, he had spared no pains with it, and though it had hitherto been a failure, except in occasional seasons, it

was still being tried. A few of the Huguenots were making experiments with it also, and were not only trying the cultivated variety, but were grafting upon the wild olive of the country. Generally, however, the burghers could not be induced to take any trouble with it, because not only was its success doubtful, but under any circumstances they would have to wait a long time before enjoying the profit.

The plans of Table Valley of this date show the town as covering part of the ground between the Company's garden and the shore of the bay, while extensive private gardens occupied a large portion of the remaining space. There were no private residences beyond the present Plein street on one side and Burg street on the other. On the north side of the Heerengracht—now Adderley street—the Company's garden extended as far down as the present Long-market street, but on the opposite side it terminated where it does still. There was a reservoir near the site of the original earthen fort on the parade ground, to which water was conducted from the Fresh river in a wooden pipe laid down in the year 1686, and from which it could be conveyed along the jetty to the ships' boats. Close to the reservoir was a mill for grinding corn. As far as the buildings extended the streets were regularly laid out, and crossed each other at right angles, but none of them bore the same names that they do now.

The directors of the East India Company considered that a settlement of such importance as the Cape Colony had now attained should have as its head a man of higher rank than a commander, and as Simon van der Stel was regarded as deserving promotion, on the 14th of December 1690 they raised him to the dignity of governor, and granted him a salary above his maintenance expenses of £16 13*s.* 4*d.* a month. On the 1st of June of the following year the ship *Java* arrived in Table Bay with despatches to this effect, since which date the

colony has always been presided over by an officer with the rank of governor.

In 1691, when this change took place, the council of policy consisted of the governor, Simon van der Stel, the secunde, Andries de Man, the fiscal, Cornelis Simons, the captain, Willem Padt, the treasurer, Ludowyk van der Stel, the garrison bookkeeper, Jan Hendrik Blum, and the secretary, Jan Willem de Grevenbroek.

There were still but two clergymen in the colony. In January 1689 the reverend Johannes van Andel had been succeeded in Capetown by the reverend Leonardus Terwold, and had gone to Batavia as chaplain of the *Wapen van Alkmaar.* The church of Stellenbosch was still without a resident Dutch clergyman, though it had a consistory. The sick-visitor continued to read the services, except when the minister Simond preached there in French or Mr. Terwold in Dutch.

Jan Mulder, the first landdrost of Stellenbosch, retired from office at his own request, and on the 12th of June 1691 was succeeded by Mr. Cornelis Linnes. In the board of heemraden and in the consistory men were taking part whose descendants are to be found there to the present day. The same may be said of many of the members of the various boards at the Cape, for in the consistory, the orphan chamber, the matrimonial court, and the court of commissioners for petty cases, were men with names now well known throughout South Africa. In a roll call of the militia a large proportion of the names would be familiar to-day anywhere between Cape Point and the Limpopo.

According to the census returns of 1691, corrected by entries in the church registers, the most notable burghers in the Cape district were:—

van As, Louis, with wife,
Backstroo, Lourens, with wife and three children,
*de Beer, Jan, with wife and six children,
Bezuidenhout, Wynand,

*van der Bol, Jan, with wife and three children,
van den Bosch, Jan, with wife and two children,
Botma, Cornelis, with wife and seven children,
Bouwman, Hendrik, with wife and two children,
van Brakel, Adriaan, widower, with six children,
Burger, Barend, with wife and one child,
Colyn, Bastiaan, with wife and four children,
Cruywagen, Jan, with wife and one child,
Diemer, Abraham,
Eems, Willem, with wife and one child,
Gerrits, Cornelis, with wife and one child,
Gildenhuyzen, Albertus, with wife and five children,
*Harst, Hendrik, with wife and three children,
Hartog, Abraham, with wife and three children,
Heyns, Paul, with wife and two children,
*Huising, Henning, with wife,
Kotze, Jan, with wife,
Loubser, Nicolaas, with wife and three children,
Louw, widow of Jan, with one child,
Louw, Pieter,
Lubbe, Barend, with wife and two children,
Meyer, Willem, with wife and one child,
Meyer, Gerrit,
Meyhuyzen, Godfried, with wife and two children,
Michiels, Matthys, with wife and three children,
Möller, Hendrik Christoffel, with wife and seven children,
Mostert, Jan, with wife and six children,
Myburgh, Jan Lambert, with wife and two children,
Olivier, Hendrik, with wife and six children,
*Persyn, Hendrik, with wife and five children,
du Plessis, Jean, with wife and two children,
van der Poel, Pieter,
*Pousioen, Marthinus, with wife and three children,
Pretorius, Jan, with wife and six children,
*Pretorius, Dirk, with wife and three children,
*Prevot, Carel, with wife and one child,
Prinsloo, Adriaan, with wife and three children,
Putter, Diederik, with wife and five children,

*Those marked with an asterisk, though married and many of them with children, have no descendants in South Africa at present, as far as can be traced. The names of some of the unmarried men in these lists have also died out.

Ras, widow of Hans, with three children,
Russouw, Frederik, with wife and one child,
van Schalkwyk, Theunis, widower, with two children,
*Simons, Lambert, with wife and two children,
Smidt, Hendrik Evert, with wife and three children,
Smit, Jan, with wife and three children,
Smuts, Michiel Cornelis, with wife and three children,
*Sneewind, Hendrik, with wife and three children,
Strydom, Joost, with wife and three children,
Verschuur, Hendrik, with wife and six children
Victor, Cornelis, with wife and one child,
Victor, Gerrit, with wife and one child,
Villion (now Viljoen), widow of François, with five children,
Visagie, widow of Pieter, with two children,
Visser, Coenraad, with wife and three children,
Visser, Gerrit, with wife and eight children,
Visser, Jan, with wife and one child,
Visser, Jan Coenraad,
*Vlok, Jan Hendrik, with wife and five children,
Wessels, Jan, with wife and two children,
van der Westhuyzen, Pieter, with wife and six children,
Wiegman, Matthys, with wife,
Willemse, Gerrit, with wife and one child.

The most notable inhabitants of Stellenbosch were :—

Appel, Ferdinand, with wife,
van den Berg, Jacobus,
Beyers, Andries, with wife and four children,
Boshouwer, Pieter, with wife and four children,
*Botha, Jan, with wife and two children,
Botha, Frederik,
Botma, Jan,
Botma, Stephanus, with wife,
Brand, Borchard,
*van den Brink, Barend, with wife and two children,
Brits, Hans Jacob, with wife,
*Brouwer, Jacob, with wife,
van der Byl, Gerrit, with wife,
Campher, Lourens, with wife and one child,
Cleef, Nicolaas, with wife and two children,
Cloete, Gerrit, with wife and six children,
Coetsee, Dirk, with wife and five children,

*van Daalen, Cornelis, with wife,
van Dyk, Jan, with wife and two children,
van Eeden, Jan, with wife and one child,
Elberts, Hendrik, with wife and eight children,
Faasen, Simon, with wife and one child,
le Fèbre, Pierre, with wife and four children,
*Gerrits, Pieter, with wife and five children,
Greef, Matthys, with wife and four children,
Groenewald, Christoffel,
*Henning, Christoffel, with wife and two children,
*van Hof, Lambert, with wife and two children,
*Jacobs, Hendrik, with wife and one child,
*Janssen, Arnoud, with wife and four children,
de Klerk, Abraham (a youth),
*Konterman, Hans, with wife and two children,
*Linnes, Cornelis, with wife and one child,
*van der Lit, Anthonie, with wife,
*Mankadan, Sybrand, with wife and one child,
*Mol, Dirk, with wife,
Morkel, Philip, with wife,
Mulder, Jan,
Nel, Guillaume, senior, with wife and two children,
Nel, Willem, junior, with wife and one child,
Oelofse, Andries, with wife and one child,
*van Oldenberg, Jan, with wife and four children,
Olivier, Ocker, with wife and three children,
Pasman, Roelof, with wife and two children,
Pasman, Wemmer, with wife and one child,
*Paterborn, Jan, with wife and one child,
Potgieter, Hermanus, with wife and six children,
Pyl, Abraham Sebastiaan, with wife and two children,
Scheepers, Izaak, with wife and two children,
*Simond, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Ste[illegible]n, Douw Gerbrand, with wife and two children,
Tas, Adam,
du Toit, Guillaume, with wife and one child,
Venter, Hendrik, with wife and one child,
*Verbrugge, Lourens, with wife,
Vermeulen, Jan, with wife and three children,
Vosloo, Jan,
*de Wereld, Willem, with wife,
*Wismer, Jan, with wife and two children.

The most notable inhabitants of Drakenstein were:—

van As, Jacobus, with wife and one child,
Basson, Willem, with wife,
Bastiaans, Frans, with wife and two children,
Bekker, Pieter, with wife and one child,
Beneset, Pierre,
*de Berout, Louis, with wife and four children,
Booysen, Booy, with wife,
Bruère, Etienne,
de Bruyn, Theunis,
du Buis, Jean,
van der Byl, Pieter, with wife and one child
Claasen, Jan, with wife,
Cloete, Coenraad, (a youth),
Cordier, Louis, with wife and five children,
van Deventer, Gerrit, with wife and two children,
Durand, Jean,
van Eck, Adriaan,
*Eckhof, Hendrik, with wife and four children,
Erasmus, Pieter,
Fouché, Philippe, with wife and four children,
Fourié, Louis,
Fracassé, Matthieu,
Gaucher (now Gous), André, with wife and one child,
la Grange, Pierre,
Hattingh, Hans Hendrik,
Helm, Hans, with wife and six children,
van der Heyden, Jacobus, with wife and one child,
Hugod, Daniel,
Jacob, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Joubert, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Jourdan, Jean, with wife and one child,
Jourdan, Pierre,
Knoetzen, Cornelis, with wife,
Krugel, Matthys,
Krugel, Andries,
de Lange, Jan Hendrik, with wife and three children,
Lombard, Pierre, with wife and three children,
Malan, Jacques,
Malherbe, Gideon, with wife and one child,
Marais, widow of Charles, senior, with two children,

Marais, Claude, with wife and one child,
Marais, Charles,
van Marseveen, Pieter, with wife and one child,
van der Merwe, Schalk, with wife and one child,
van der Merwe, Willem, with wife and eight children,
Mesnard (now Minnaar), Jean, widower, with two children,
Meyer, Pierre,
van Niekerk, Cornelis, with wife,
Nortier (now Nortje), Daniel, with wife and two children,
Oosthuyzen, Jan,
Pinard (now Pienaar), Jacques, with wife and one child,
du Pré (now du Preez), Hercule, senior, with wife and four children
du Pré, Hercule, junior,
Rétif (now Retief), François,
Roi, Jean,
Romond, Michiel,
Rousseau (now Rossouw), Pierre, with wife,
Roux, Paul, with wife and one child,
Roux (or le Roux), Jean, of Provence,
le Roux, Jean, of Blois,
le Roux, Gabriel,
de Savoye, Jacques, with wife and three children,
Senechal (now Senekal), David,
Snyman, Christoffel, with wife and one child,
van Staden, Marthinus, with wife and eight children,
*Swart, Cornelis, with wife and two children,
Swart, Jan, with wife,
Taillefer, Isaac, with wife and three children,
Terrier, Daniel,
Therond (now Theron), Jacques,
du Toit, François, with wife and one child,
Verdeau, Hercule,
Verwey, Gysbert, with wife and three children,
de Villiers, Abraham, with wife and two children,
de Villiers, Jacob, with wife and two children,
de Villiers, Pierre,
Viret, Etienne,
Vivier, Abraham,
van Vuuren, Gerrit, with wife,
van Wyk, Willem, with wife and two children,
van Wyk, Adriaan, with wife,
van Zyl, Willem, with wife and one child.

In addition to these there were in the whole settlement in 1691 some three hundred European men, many of whom did not remain long in the country, and none of whom left descendants to perpetuate their names. The permanent colonists, numbering about a thousand individuals of all ages and both sexes, sprang from different European nationalities, though Netherlanders greatly preponderated. As nearly as is possible to analyse it, the blood consisted of rather over two-thirds Dutch, about one-sixth French, a very small fraction Swedish, Danish, and Belgian, and one-seventh German. The female immigrants—except the Huguenots—were practically all from the Netherlands. The German male settlers were chiefly from the borderland where high and low Teuton blood is intermingled, and in religion, language, and sentiment they were as near to the people of Amsterdam as to those of Berlin. Owing to the foreigners having come from different countries, they lost their national characteristics more quickly than if they had all been of one origin, and the Dutch element was strong enough to absorb them without itself undergoing much change.

In the colony there were also at this time about fifty free Asiatics and negroes, with their wives and sixty or seventy children. They enjoyed identically the same political privileges as European burghers, with whom they were classed in official documents without any distinction whatever. In social life, however, they formed an inferior class, for between them and the Europeans in thought and conduct there was a great gulf which political equality could not bridge.

The colonists owned two hundred and eighty-five men slaves, fifty-seven women slaves, and forty-four slave children. The children were all baptized, and were receiving instruction in the principles of Christianity. The disproportion of the sexes was the cause of much crime with them as with the Europeans. Several parties of runaway slaves maintained themselves in the mountains

and committed depredations upon the farmers, others took refuge with Hottentot clans, by whom, however, they were generally surrendered sooner or later.

The burghers possessed two hundred and sixty-one horses, four thousand one hundred and ninety-eight head of horned cattle, forty-eight thousand seven hundred sheep, and two hundred and twenty goats. They had five hundred and eighty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty vines bearing, and had harvested in the last season four thousand one hundred and eighty-one muids of wheat, eight hundred and eight muids of rye, and two hundred and two muids of barley.

The revenue of the government was almost entirely derived from the following sources:—

Licenses to sell wines, spirits, bread, meat, and various other articles, which were put up at auction yearly, and brought in altogether about £1,500; the tithes, which fluctuated greatly, and, with the deductions allowed to the sick, the very poor, and generally in bad seasons, were not worth more than about £700; and transfer dues on the sales of fixed property, which brought the whole up to about £2,250 yearly. The colonists were thus apparently taxed at the rate of about forty-five shillings for each individual, over and above the profits derived from the sale of goods by the Company, but in reality strangers contributed the largest portion of the license money.

The number of ships that put into Table Bay between the 1st of January 1672 and the close of the century was one thousand two hundred and twenty-seven,—nine hundred and seventy-six Dutch, one hundred and seventy English, forty-two Danish, thirty-six French, and three Portuguese,—on an average forty-four every year. Since the middle of the century many improvements had been made in the construction of ships. They carried now more sails, but each one smaller, so that they needed fewer seamen than formerly. The average crew of a Dutch Indiaman at the close of the century was one

hundred and seventy individuals of all ranks and classes. The English ships that put into Table Bay were as a rule much smaller, and did not carry on an average more than one hundred men. Many of them were engaged in the slave trade between the West Indies and Madagascar. Others were private traders, or interlopers as they were called. The English East India Company's ships usually passed by Table Bay, as they had a refreshing station of their own at St. Helena.

The records of the colonists and their industries are the symbols of a community so small that its history would scarcely be worth recording, if it had not occupied such a commanding position, if it were not that from it the present colonies of South Africa have grown, and if it had not been in contact with the barbarism of a continent. In 1691 it was in fairly prosperous circumstances, with no one accumulating great wealth, but on the other hand with no one wanting food. There were none so indigent as not to have bread and meat, and milk or wine, three times a day, there were vegetables at all times for those who cared to grow them, no season was without its fruit, and no table need have stood without flowers, wild or cultivated, upon it every day in the year. What may be termed luxuries were indeed wanting, but their use was either unknown or unappreciated. According to the testimony not only of official documents, but of the writings of travellers of various nationalities, English, French, German, Danish, and Dutch, the little colony was a settlement in which life could be passed as comfortably and happily as anywhere in the world.

As yet the burghers found no fault with the constitution of the government under which they were living. They did not consider themselves any the less free on account of having no voice in the selection of their rulers, but regarded all alike as bound by the law and protected by the law. They were not the people tamely to submit

to any infringement upon what they believed to be their rights and liberties. Their views of rights and liberties were not indeed those of to-day, because they were men of the seventeenth, not of the twentieth, century. But they possessed a full share of the sturdy spirit of independence which led the people of the Netherlands on more than one occasion within that century to risk life and property in defence of freedom. They may be the poorest, but they are not the least courageous or liberty-loving people of any country who go forth to found colonies in distant lands. And assuredly the men who built up the European power in South Africa were, in those qualities which ought to command esteem, no whit behind the pioneers of any colony in the world. They brought to this country an unconquerable love of liberty, a spirit of patient industry, a deep-seated feeling of trust in the Almighty God: virtues which fitted them to do the work marked out for them by Providence in the land that to their children was home.

Between 1691 and the close of the century several improvements were made in Capetown. In January 1693 the botanist Oldenland, who was superintendent of the Company's garden and land-surveyor for the government, received the additional appointment of town engineer, with an annual salary of £6 18*s.* 10*d.* He died four years later. In October 1695 the Keizersgracht, the present Darling street, was laid out between the Heerengracht, now Adderley street, and the back of the castle. The road to the country at that time ran between the castle and the shore of the bay. In October 1697 the work of levelling the ground between the new street and the shore, since termed the great parade, was commenced. It was previously intersected by several deep gullies, and some knolls of considerable size were standing on it. The Company furnished a party of slaves, and the burghers contributed the remainder of the labour. The work was completed in 1699. In April 1696 the streets began to

be patrolled at night by a burgher watch. Constables were not employed in the town, though at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein two of those useful officials, there termed veldwachters, were engaged in seeing that the placaats were observed. They were paid at the rate of £1 2*s.* 3*d.* a month.

In February 1693 a waggon road was completed over the neck beyond Wynberg to Hout Bay. In 1698 the church at Stellenbosch was enlarged, as the original building was too small to contain the congregation. In the same year an abortive attempt was made to form a safe harbour for boats by cutting a passage through the sand from Table Bay to a reach of the Salt river.

Efforts to produce olives were continued, though in all instances resulting in failure. Experiments in the cultivation of the hop were also being made; but without success, as the high winds destroyed the tendrils. The planting out of young oaks in different parts of the Cape peninsula was assiduously attended to.

Wild animals were still giving trouble. In May 1694 a burgher at Drakenstein was killed by a leopard, and another at Stellenbosch was nearly torn to pieces by a lion. On one day in the following month nine cows were killed by lions in sight of the castle. Though the premium for destroying a lion in the Cape peninsula was £5 4*s.* 2*d.*, a large sum of money in those days, the firearms in use were so clumsy that it was a long time before all were exterminated. As late as 1702 an elephant was killed just beyond the Cape flats.

In the morning of the 4th of September 1695 the first recorded shock of earthquake was felt at the Cape. The weather was perfectly calm and clear, when suddenly a noise like a clap of thunder was heard, and a trembling of the earth was felt as if something was rolling beneath the foundations of the buildings. In a few seconds it ceased, and was not repeated. No damage was occasioned by the shock. In the afternoon of the 11th of January 1696

another slight trembling was felt in the town, but unaccompanied by noise.

During this period several changes took place in the official staff. On the 22nd of June 1694 Mr. Grevenbroek resigned his situation as secretary to the council of policy, and became a burgher at Stellenbosch. He was succeeded as secretary by Hugo de Goyer. On the 18th of November 1694 the independent fiscal Cornelis Joan Simons transferred his duties to Johan Blesius, and proceeded to Batavia to fill a post of greater importance. In April 1697 Mr. Samuel Elsevier arrived from the Netherlands with the appointment of secunde, Andries de Man having died in March 1695.

In August 1693 the reverend Leonardus Terwold was transferred to Batavia. Services were held occasionally by chaplains of ships and by Mr. Simond until the 22nd of September 1694, when the reverend Hercules van Loon, chaplain of the *Nederland*, was detained here, and was appointed provisionally clergyman of the Cape. The directors, however, sent out the reverend Petrus Kalden, who was inducted on the 4th of December 1695, and Mr. Van Loon was obliged to return to Europe. He left reluctantly, and with the good wishes of the congregation.

The hospital, built by Commander Van Riebeek close to the beach in front of the earthen fort Good Hope, was at this time in a dilapidated condition. Its site was not good, as it was exposed to the full force of gales. Upon the governor's representations, the directors authorised him to build a larger hospital in a more suitable place, and for a site he selected the ground between the upper ends of the present Adderley and St. George's streets, then termed the Heerengracht and Berg-straat. In December 1694 the foundation was commenced, but the building was not taken properly in hand until July 1697. It was designed to accommodate five hundred patients without crowding, or seven hundred and fifty on an emergency. On the 24th of October 1699 it was completed and opened for

use, when the sick were moved into it from the old building on the beach.

A hospital of this size was none too large for the requirements of the Company's fleets at the close of the seventeenth century. Owing to improvements in the construction of ships, passages were now often made in ninety to a hundred days between Europe and the Cape, but scurvy still caused terrible havoc among seamen.

On the 8th of February 1693 a boat reached Saldanha Bay with a feeble crew and a sick officer, who reported that they had left their ship, the *Bantam*, anchored off Paternoster Point. On the passage out, two hundred and twenty-one men had died of scurvy, and those left alive were too weak to work. They had therefore dropped anchor, and some of them left in a boat to look for assistance. The boat was swamped, and of her crew only two men got to land, of whom, it was believed, one died of hunger and the other was killed by wild animals. A second boat then left for Saldanha Bay, and fortunately found a large Indiaman at anchor there. A party of men was sent to the *Bantam*, and she was brought safely to Table Bay.

On the 4th of May 1693 the *Goude Buys* sailed from Enkhuizen with one hundred and ninety souls on board, and on the 19th of October dropped anchor off the coast about twenty-four kilometres north of St. Helena Bay, when there were not a dozen of her crew capable of working. On the 11th of November seven men left the ship to seek assistance inland. Of these, five perished of hunger, one wandered along the banks of the Berg river until he was found by some Hottentots and taken to the Company's post at Saldanha Bay, and the other, after roaming about for seven weeks, was rescued. When intelligence of the state of the ship reached the Cape, a yacht was sent to her assistance. Only one living person was found on board, and he died soon afterwards. The *Goude Buys* had drifted ashore, and could not be got off, but most of her

cargo was saved, and all the small vessels at the Cape were for some time employed in transporting it to Table Bay.

On the 23rd of November 1693 the *Schoondyk* arrived from Texel with her whole remaining crew of one hundred and twenty sick. One hundred and thirty-four had died on the passage out. On the 23rd of December 1694 the *Pampus* arrived from Rotterdam with only sixteen healthy men on board. Sixty had died on the passage out, and eighty-three were down with scurvy. On the 11th of November 1695 a fleet of eleven ships arrived from the Netherlands, with six hundred and seventy-eight men unable to walk, some of whom were so far gone that they died while being conveyed to the hospital. A great many others were ill, but were able to go about. Two hundred and twenty-eight had perished on the passage. On the 17th of October 1696 the *Vosmaar* arrived from Flushing with only four sound men on board. One hundred and thirty-nine were ill, and ninety-three had died. Of ten Huguenot passengers for the Cape, five had died.

Several wrecks took place at this time.

During the night of the 4th of June 1692 a heavy gale set in from the north-west, and before daylight of the 5th the Company's ships *Goede Hoop* and *Hoogergeest* and the English ship *Orange* were driven ashore near the mouth of Salt River. There was a large fleet in Table Bay at the time, but the other vessels held to their anchors. The *Goede Hoop* was the same ship that had been taken from the French in April 1689, when she was named the *Normande*. She was now homeward bound from Ceylon. She held together, and most of her cargo, though damaged, was recovered. The *Hoogergeest*, from Batavia, and the *Orange*, from Madras, broke up quickly, but only a few of their people were lost. The men of the *Hoogergeest* were rescued by a quartermaster of an Indiaman, who happened to be on shore at the time.

This brave seaman, Jochem Willems by name, fastened a line to his body, and made his way through the surf to the wreck. A hawser was then attached to the line and pulled ashore, and by its means most of the crew escaped before the ship broke up.

Early in the morning of the 20th of January 1694 the yacht *Dageraad*, laden with cargo—including a quantity of specie—from the *Goude Buys*, ran ashore on the western side of Robben Island, and broke up immediately. Sixteen lives were lost. Some of the specie was recovered, but not all.

In the afternoon of the 24th of May 1697 the Company's homeward bound ships *Waddingsveen* and *Oosterland*, with valuable cargoes on board, were driven ashore at Salt River mouth in a great gale, and were dashed to pieces at once. Two other ships out of a large fleet that was lying in the bay narrowly escaped the same fate. Only seventeen men in all were saved from the two wrecks. Among these was the clergyman Hendrik Willem Gordon, whose name is prominent in the history of Amboina, on account of his opposition to the governor Nicolaas Schagen, and of the severe treatment he received from that official. The clergyman reached the shore almost exhausted, and a minute later the corpse of his wife with an infant fast locked in her arms was washed up on the beach.

On the 27th of May 1698 the *Huis te Crayenstein*, from Middelburg bound to Batavia, anchored in a calm off Camp's Bay. During the night a thick mist set in, and before daylight of the 28th the ship was found to have parted her cable and to be adrift. She was already in the breakers, and before anything could be done to save her, she struck on the rocks behind the Lion's head, and became a complete wreck. No lives were lost.

Scurvy and wreck were not the only perils of the sea. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Indian ocean began to be frequented by pirates, who were ready

when opportunities offered to pillage the coasts as well as to seize defenceless ships. Among them was the famous Captain Kidd.

On the 2nd of May 1693 a small armed brigantine under English colours, with her main mast gone, put into Saldanha Bay. There was a ship belonging to the English East India Company lying in Table Bay, and her officers assured the governor that the stranger was a pirate, urging him at the same time to take her in custody. An armed vessel was thereupon sent to Saldanha Bay to ascertain particulars. The brigantine was found to have two conflicting sets of papers, and to bear traces of having been in an engagement. Her master, George Dew by name, stated that he was from the Bermudas, bound to Madagascar for a cargo of slaves, and that his crew consisted of twenty-four men. The vessel was called the *Amy*. The Dutch officers considered that they were justified in seizing her, and they brought her to Table Bay. Twenty-four hours after she was in their possession some men were found concealed on board, when her crew reached a total of thirty-five.

There was no doubt as to her true character, so she was condemned, and was kept for use by the Cape government. Captain Dew and his men were sent prisoners to Europe. But it was found impossible to prove legally that Dew was a pirate, and he then put in a claim for damages against the Company and caused the directors much trouble and expense.

On the 10th of May 1699 intelligence was received at the castle that a pirate vessel with an English crew had put into Saldanha Bay and taken possession of some galiots and decked boats belonging to the Company and to private individuals, there being nothing else to plunder within reach. Two ships were at once sent to try to capture her, but before they could reach the bay she had sailed. She had taken the little vessels outside, but had then abandoned them, after her master had generously

presented four negroes to the owner of one, in return for his stores. A few weeks after this a squadron of English men-of-war touched here on their way to the Mozambique channel, where they were about to cruise in search of pirates. It was known that these scourges of the sea at this time made use of Delagoa Bay and various ports on the coast of Madagascar as the bases of their operations.

On the 28th of December 1699 an English vessel named the *Margate* put into Table Bay. Her master stated that he was from Madagascar, bound to the Bermudas with one hundred and twenty slaves. Another English vessel, named the *Loyal Merchant*, was lying at anchor in the bay. Captain Lowth, who commanded her, had a commission from King William, authorising him to search for rovers and seize them. He examined the *Margate*, and then took possession of that vessel on the ground that she had been engaged in piracy. The governor protested against this violation of a Dutch port, but to no effect, for Captain Lowth kept his prize and took her away with him. He also examined another English vessel which put in before he left, but released her after two days' detention.

In 1695 the directors issued instructions that as soon as possible farming and cattle dealing should be given up by the Cape government. They were disposed to call for tenders to supply the garrison and fleets with beef and mutton, and to allow the colonists to purchase cattle from the Hottentots and fatten them for sale to the contractors. But no steps towards carrying these instructions into effect were taken until some years later.

Between the years 1691 and 1700 the following names of burghers who left children in South Africa are first found in the records of the colony: Pieter Barend Blom, Jan Bockelenberg, Christiaan Bok, Frederik Conradie, Jan Jacob Conterman, Pierre Cronje, Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen, Christoffel Esterhuyzen, Abraham Everts, Paul le Fèbre, Jan Harmse, Jan van Helsdingen, Pieter Jurgen

van der Heyden, Pieter Hubner, Frans Joosten, Bartholomeus Koopman, Hary Lecrivent, Jacques Mouton, Louis le Riche, Pieter Robberts, Floris Slabbert, Pieter Swanepoel, Etienne Terreblanche (now Terblans), and Jacobus de Wet.

Before the year 1692 Simon van der Stel enjoyed the esteem and affection of nearly every European in South Africa except the French immigrants, but about this date a different feeling began slowly to develop. He was now a disappointed man, for his dream of earlier years, to form here a purely Dutch settlement, had been thwarted. The love of wealth had grown upon him, and his farm Constantia, already beautified with vineyards and avenues of young oaks, year by year occupied more of his attention. The strong personal interest which he had taken in the welfare of the colonists seemed to them to be dying out. And a comparison of the records of the first twelve years of his administration with those of the last seven shows that a change in his feelings had really taken place, for the enthusiastic language of the first period gives way to cold official expressions in the last. Still there were no open complaints, and to strangers and others who could not see beneath the surface everything appeared to be working smoothly.

The directors continued to hold a high opinion of the governor, though occasionally they complained of some of his acts as prejudicial to their interests, and at other times charged him with remissness of duty in connection with the provisioning and speedy despatch of their ships. In 1692 they conferred upon him the rank and title of councillor extraordinary of Netherlands India, and when in 1696 he requested permission to resign, so as to spend the evening of his life in comparative freedom from care, they named his eldest son as his successor. The newly appointed governor could not immediately leave the Netherlands, however, and it was not until the 23rd of January 1699 that he and his family reached South Africa.

After handing over the administration on the 11th of February 1699, Simon van der Stel retired to his farm Constantia, where he had built a large and handsome residence. There during the next thirteen years strangers of note were always sure of a hearty reception, and the hospitality of the late governor was so great that his house was seldom or never without visitors. He devoted his remaining years chiefly to agriculture and cattle rearing. On the 11th of March 1699 he obtained from the commissioner Daniel Heins a grant in freehold of Zeekoevlei with the ground surrounding it, an hour's walk in diameter, and on the 1st of February 1700 the commissioner Wouter Valckenier granted him the use of the Steenbergen for the term of his life. Practically therefore he had the whole peninsula beyond his property as a cattle run. The wine which he made was the best in the colony. The burghers believed that he possessed some secret for manufacturing it, and strangers attributed its quality to the care which he took in pressing and fermenting, but it is now known that it owed its flavour to the soil.

The late governor did not confine his attention wholly to these pursuits, and was always ready to embark in any undertaking that promised large returns. In June 1711, when he was nearly seventy-two years of age, in company with the burgher Jan Phyffer he entered into a contract with the council of policy to supply for five years dried and salted fish, in which the partners secured a monopoly of fishing and seal hunting at Saldanha Bay, on condition of an annual payment of twenty-five leggers of train oil.

Simon van der Stel died on the 24th of June 1712. His remains were buried beneath the pavement of the church in Table Valley. A monument to his memory was erected behind the pulpit, but when during the nineteenth century the church was enlarged, it with everything else of its kind was removed and never restored. His property he bequeathed in equal proportions to his five surviving

children, Wilhem Adriaan, Adriaan, Catharina, Frans, and Hendrik. His estate Constantia, which he had made one of the most beautiful spots in the world, passed away from his family. It was divided into two portions, known to the present day as Great and Little Constantia, and was sold for the benefit of his heirs.*

* The successive owners of Great Constantia, 224 morgen and 32 square roods in size, before it came into possession of the colonial government to be used as a model farm, were: Mr. Olof Bergh, to whom it was transferred on the 13th of November 1716 for £555 10s. 8d., Mr. Carel George Wieser, 9th August 1734, for £1,444 7s. 9d., Mr. Jacobus van der Spuy, 8th June 1759, for £3,124 17s. 6d., Mr. Jan Serrurier, 15th January 1778, for £3,680 8s. 2d., and Mr. Hendrik Cloete, 15th December 1778, for £4,166 10s. It remained for three generations the property of Mr. Cloete's family. Little Constantia has had many owners, and has been greatly reduced in size by the sale of detached portions of it. The estate now called High Constantia did not form a part of Governor Simon van der Stel's ground.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

WILHEM, ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 11TH FEBRUARY 1699; RECALLED 3RD JUNE 1707.

WILHEM ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL had for ten years been filling various offices in the city of Amsterdam, among others that of judge, when the assembly of seventeen, in recognition of his father's services, offered him the appointment of councillor extraordinary of India and governor of the Cape Colony and its dependency the island of Mauritius. He had once resided here for a short time, and was well acquainted with the circumstances of the country. There is nothing in the records or contemporary publications to indicate what manner of man he was in personal appearance, though the details of his administration are given very minutely.

Notwithstanding the pains taken by the late governor to promote tree planting, there was a scarcity of timber and fuel at the Cape. It was a difficult matter to supply the ships with firewood. Some skippers reported that in passing by two islands, named Dina and Marseveen, in latitude 41° or 42° south and about four hundred sea miles from the Cape, they had observed fine forests, which they suggested should be examined. The master of the galiot *Wezel* was therefore instructed to proceed to the locality indicated, to inspect the forests closely, and ascertain what quantity of timber was to be had. The *Wezel* sailed from Table Bay on the 31st of March 1699, but returned on the 13th of May with a report that the search for the islands had been fruitless.

The governor, like his father, regarded the cultivation of trees as a matter of great importance. During the first winter after his arrival twenty thousand young oaks were planted in the kloofs at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein where the native forests had been exhausted, and over ten thousand were set out in the Cape peninsula. In the winter of 1701 a further supply was sent to Stellenbosch from the nursery in Table Valley, and the landdrost was instructed to have them planted along the streets.

On the 23rd of November the governor with a party of attendants set out on a tour of inspection of the settlement. He visited Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, and the farms about the Tigerberg, where he found some persons to whom no ground had yet been allotted. The country was inhabited by Europeans, though thinly, nearly as far as the present village of Hermon. Small Hottentot kraals were scattered about, of which the occupants were found to be very poor and very lazy.

Keeping down the Berg river, the range of mountains on the right was reported to be tenanted by Bushmen, who were in the habit of descending from their fastnesses and plundering the burghers and Hottentots below. The range was on this account known as the Obiqua mountains. The governor crossed over at a place since termed the Roodezand pass, just beyond the gorge through which the Little Berg river flows, and entered the valley now called the Tulbagh basin.

Though not greatly elevated, this basin is in the second of the steps by which the mainland of South Africa rises from the ocean to the central plain. If a cane with a large round head be laid upon soft ground, the mark will give an idea of its form. The hollow caused by the head of the cane will represent the basin, the long narrow groove will indicate the valley between the Obiqua mountains and a parallel range ten or eleven kilometres farther inland. The Breede river has its source

in the third terrace, and, rushing down a gorge in the interior range, now called Michell's pass, flows south-eastward through the valley. Close to Michell's pass the mountain retires, but shortly sweeps round and joins the Obiqua range, the keystone of the arch thus formed being the Great Winterhoek, two thousand and eighty-five metres in height, the loftiest peak visible from Capetown.

It was the basin thus enclosed that the governor and his party entered. It was found to be drained by the Little Berg river and its numerous tributary rills, whose waters escape through a gorge in the Obiqua mountains, and flow north-westward. The watershed between the Breede and Little Berg rivers is merely a gentle swell in the surface of the ground. At the foot of Michell's pass, at the present day, a mill race is led out of the Breede and turned into the Little Berg, and thus a few shovels full of earth can divert water from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean.

The basin excels all other parts of South Africa in the variety and beauty of its wild flowers, which in early spring almost conceal the ground. It was too late in the season for the governor's party to see it at its best, still the visitors were charmed with its appearance. Very few Hottentots were found. In the recesses of the mountains were forests of magnificent trees, and although the timber could not be removed to the Cape, it would be of great use to residents. Immigrants were arriving in every fleet from the Netherlands, so the governor resolved to form a settlement in the valley, where cattle breeding could be carried on to advantage. Agriculture, except to supply the wants of residents, could not be pursued with profit, owing to the difficulty of transport. The governor named the basin the Land of Waveren, in honour of a family of position in Amsterdam. The range of mountains enclosing the valley on the inland side and stretching away as far as the eye could reach, as yet without a name, he called the Witsenberg, after the justly esteemed burgo-

Map VII.

In this map the extent of the settlement in the year 1700 is shown. The part of the country occupied conjointly by Europeans and Hottentots is coloured red, the remainder was used only by Hottentots. In 1700 white men first settled at Riebeek's Kasteel and in the Tulbagh basin, then called the land of Waveren. In this year also the pasture at Groenekloof was first used by the contractor for the supply of meat to the East India Company.

There was no defined boundary of the colony on any side except the sea, nor was there a dividing line between the districts of the Cape and Stellenbosch; but practically the landdrost of Stellenbosch had jurisdiction over all the country beyond the Cape peninsula, except the government post at Saldanha Bay.

The places where there were courts of law were :—

Capetown, founded in April 1652,
Stellenbosch, founded in December 1679, court of landdrost and heemraden established in July 1685.

The churches were at :—

Capetown, established in August 1665,
Stellenbosch, established in January 1687,
Drakenstein, established in December 1691.

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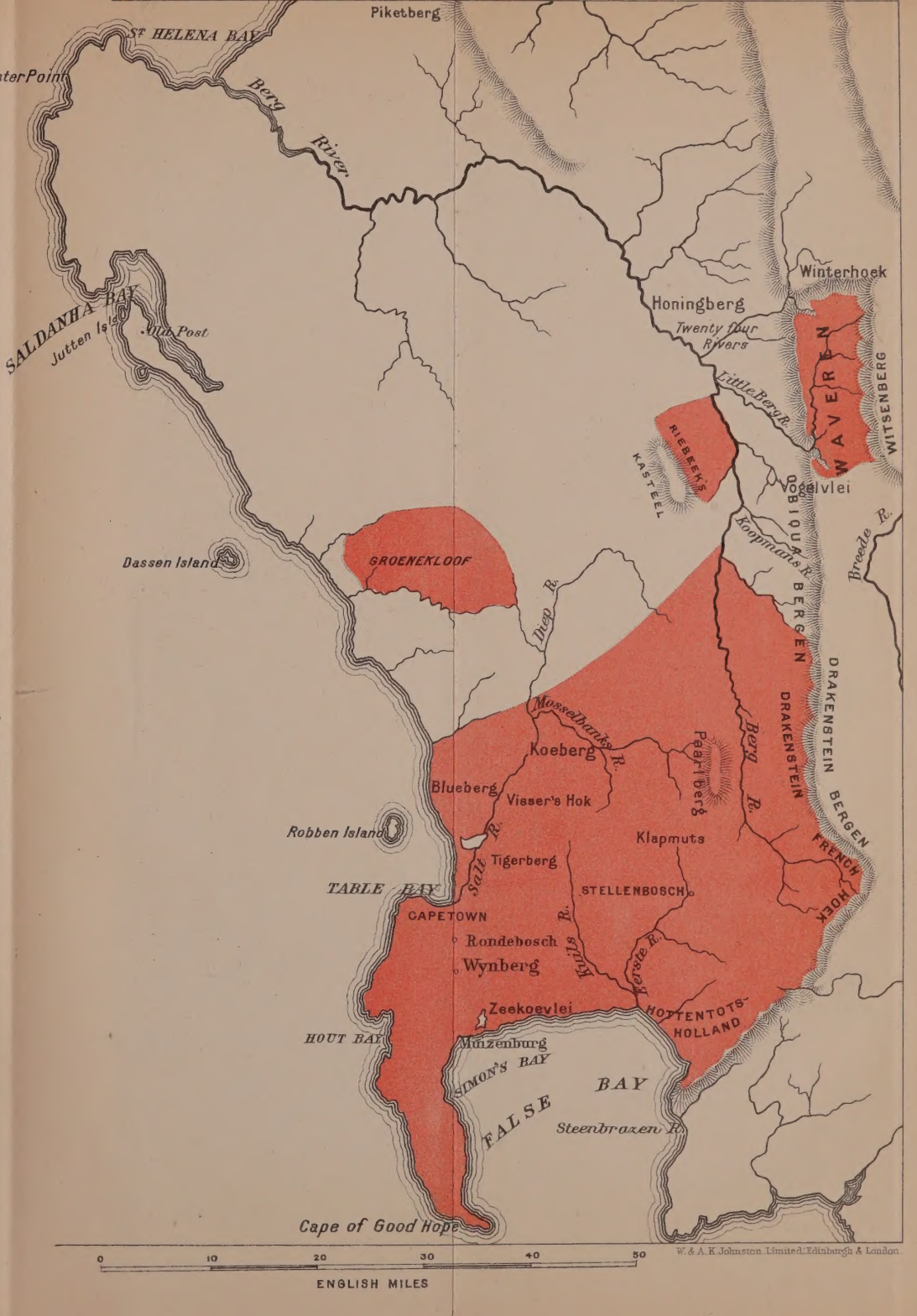

master Nicolaas Witsen of Amsterdam. The land of Waveren has long since become the Tulbagh basin, but one may be allowed to hope that the Witsenberg will always be known by the honoured name it has borne since 1699.

Several burghers who had been living at Drakenstein were now permitted to graze their cattle at Riebeek's Kasteel, and on the 31st of July 1700 some recent immigrants from Europe were sent to occupy the land of Waveren. As it was the rainy season, the families of the immigrants remained at the Cape until rough cottages could be put up for their accommodation. At the same time a corporal and six soldiers were sent to form a military post in the valley for the protection of the colonists. This post was termed the Waveren outstation, and was maintained for many years. On the 16th of October several additional families were forwarded to the new district to obtain a living as graziers.

The Company's garden in Table Valley was kept by the new governor in the same state of cultivation as that in which his father left it. To its former attractions he added a museum—chiefly of skeletons and stuffed animals —and a small menagerie of wild animals of the country, to which purposes one of the enclosed spaces at the upper end was devoted. Near the centre of the garden he erected a lodge for the reception of distinguished visitors and for his own recreation, which building by enlargements and alterations in later years has become the present government house.

In the winter of 1700 Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel also caused a new garden to be laid out a short distance beyond Rustenburg, and spent much time, thought, and money in its ornamentation. As originally planned, this garden and the plantations attached to it covered forty morgen of ground; but in course of time from twenty to thirty morgen more were added to it. A superintendent was stationed here with assistants and

a strong party of slaves, by whose labour the place soon became exceedingly attractive. In this garden, which bore the name of Newlands, a small lodge was erected, which grew half a century later into the favourite country residence of the governors.

Ever since 1658 trade between the burghers and the Hottentots was strictly forbidden. The chief object was to prevent any act that might bring on a collision with the nomadic people or irritate them in any way. In opposition to the law, however, parties of deserters and other persons of loose character carried on a cattle trade, and were often guilty of conduct that cannot be distinguished from robbery. Governor Simon van der Stel thought to check this by threatening more severe punishment, and on the 19th of October 1697 he issued a placaat in which the barter of cattle from Hottentots was prohibited, under penalty of whipping, branding, banishment, and confiscation of property.

The directors disapproved of this. They were disposed to allow the colonists to purchase cattle from the Hottentots and fatten them for sale to such persons as would contract to supply the garrison and fleets with beef and mutton. They therefore annulled the placaat, and on the 27th of July 1699 issued instructions that the cattle trade should be thrown open, on condition that the burghers should supply draught oxen to the government, whenever required, at fourteen shillings each.

The council of policy had then no option, but was under the necessity of obeying orders. Tenders were called for, and in February 1700 the burgher Henning Huising entered into a contract to supply the garrison, hospital, and Company's fleets with beef and mutton at fivepence halfpenny a kilogramme, he to have the use of the Company's slaughter-houses and as a cattle run the whole of the district of Groenekloof that was not occupied by Hottentots. The contract was signed provisionally for ten years, but the directors reduced it to five. With this transaction the Company designed to relinquish sending

out expeditions to purchase cattle, as had been the custom for nearly half a century; and henceforth it was only when draught oxen were needed in greater numbers than the burghers could supply that military bartering parties went out. By a placaat of the council of policy presided over by the commissioner Wouter Valckenier, on the 28th of February 1700 the trade was thrown open to the burghers, with such restrictions as were considered necessary to prevent its abuse.

From this date cattle breeding became a favourite pursuit with yearly increasing numbers of colonists. There was as much to be made by it as by agriculture, and it was attended with less expense and less anxiety. The government gave permission to applicants to use land for grazing purposes at some defined locality, but if the pasture failed or did not prove as good as was anticipated, the occupiers did not hesitate to seek other and better places.

Many men and women were thus undergoing a special training for pushing their way deeper into the continent. They were learning to relish a diet of little else than animal food, and to use the flesh of game largely in order to spare their flocks and herds. They were becoming accustomed also to live in tent waggons for months together, so that the want of houses soon ceased to be regarded as a matter of much hardship by these dwellers in the wilds. They were acquiring a fondness for the healthy life of the open country, with its freedom from care and restraint, and its simple pleasures. For the town, with its government officials and law agents and tradesmen and speculators of many kinds always seeking to take advantage of their simplicity, they acquired such a dislike that they never visited it when they could avoid doing so. They took with them no other books than the Bible and the psalms in metre, so their children came to regard education in secular subjects as entirely unnecessary. In self-reliance, however, they were receiving the most complete training

possible. The tastes and habits which were thus formed were transmitted to their offspring, and in a few generations there was a body of frontiersmen adapted, as no other Europeans ever were, for acting as the pioneers of civilisation in such a country as South Africa.

To encourage the cattle breeders, no rent for ground was charged until 1714, and no other tax than the one for district purposes was laid upon their stock. A little experience proved that occasional change of pasture was advantageous in the rearing of oxen and sheep, and the authorities made no objection to the graziers going yearly for three or four months to a tract of land far from that on which they lived at other times. This grew into a custom for each one to select as winter grazing ground a particular part of the karoo on the third terrace upward from the sea, his right to which was respected by all the others, though it was not directly recognised by the government.

With the enlargement of the settlement, fresh troubles arose with the Bushmen. In March 1701 a band of those people drove off forty head of cattle from Gerrit Cloete's farm at Riebeek's Kasteel. A commando of ten soldiers and thirty burghers was sent after the depredators, but was unable to find them. A temporary military post was then established at Vogelvlei, at the foot of the Obiqua mountains.

This protection soon proved insufficient. In April Gerrit Cloete was again robbed, and eleven head of cattle were lifted from the Waveren post. A commando of twelve soldiers and fifty burghers was then organised to clear the country of Bushmen, but did not succeed in effecting its object. It was hardly disbanded when one hundred and thirty-seven head of cattle were lifted within sight of the Vogelvlei post. Upon this a reinforcement of six mounted soldiers was sent to each of the two posts already occupied, and twelve men were stationed at Riebeek's Kasteel.

The Goringhaiqua and Cochoqua Hottentots now tendered their services to assist the Europeans against the Bushmen, and requested that the captain Kees, who was then living at Groenekloof, might be recognised as their leader in the expedition. But it was discovered that Kees, who had suffered severely from the Bushmen, had already joined a commando of Gerrit Cloete's friends, and that the joint force was scouring the Obiqua mountains. On receipt of this information, the governor sent instructions to the landdrost of Stellenbosch to have Cloete arrested and brought to trial for waging war without leave, and to ascertain and send in the names of those who had joined him in the expedition.

The prosecution fell through, and the governor thought it best after this to send out only parties of soldiers against the robbers. In September one of these parties recovered one hundred and twenty head of cattle belonging partly to burghers and partly to Hottentots; but in the following month more than two hundred head belonging to the contractor Henning Huising were lifted at Groenekloof, and a patrol of thirty-five soldiers was obliged to fall back from Piketberg, where the Bushmen made a resolute stand.

In November a sergeant and ten men were sent to form a permanent military post at Groenekloof. In the land of Waveren forty head of cattle, mostly belonging to Etienne Terreblanche, were seized by Bushmen, and one of the soldiers who tried to recover them was killed. Two hundred and seventy-four head belonging to Hottentot kraals at Riebeek's Kasteel were driven off, but a party of soldiers followed the robbers to Twenty-four Rivers, and retook most of the spoil. In trying to afford protection, no distinction was made by the government between burghers and Hottentots, the officers at the outposts being instructed to do their utmost to recover cattle stolen by Bushmen and deliver them to their proper owners whoever these might be.

In 1702 the military patrols were kept busy on behalf of the Hottentots, for no complaints of depredations were made by burghers. A large number of cattle were recovered and restored to various kraals, and so many Bushmen were shot that those who were left seem to have been terrified. At any rate they gave less trouble during the next few years, though occasionally it was considered necessary to chastise them. The sergeants and corporals in command of the outposts were directed to endeavour to induce the Bushmen to keep the peace. When those wild people committed depredations they were to be followed up and punished, but under no circumstances were they to be attacked without provocation. The ruthless nature of the warfare pursued by the Bushmen was exemplified in February 1702, when a Hottentot captain came to the castle and reported that they had killed five of his wives and every one of his children.

There is little else on record concerning the Hottentots at this period. Some of them made such complaints of the rapacity and violence of burgher trading parties that the council of policy provisionally suspended the liberty of free barter, and, owing to the governor's representations, in 1703 the assembly of seventeen withdrew the privilege. Commercial intercourse between the two races was again made illegal, and the European graziers were chiefly depended upon to provide as many cattle as were needed.

In September 1704 several Namaqua captains visited the Cape, when an agreement of friendship was made with them. This tribe, like the others with which the Europeans had come in contact, at once accepted as a matter of course the position of vassals. This was shown in October 1705, when three Namaqua captains came to the castle for the purpose of requesting the governor to confirm their authority. They were kindly treated, their request was complied with, and they left carrying with them presents of beads and other trifles and copper-

headed canes upon which the new names given to them —Plato, Jason, and Vulcan—were inscribed. Thenceforth they were termed allies of the honourable Company. The number of captains mentioned as having applied for staffs is an indication that the tribes were now more broken up than formerly. Sometimes a clan requested the appointment of a regent, as its hereditary captain was a minor. There are instances of clans applying for a brother of a deceased captain to be appointed in his stead, but in such cases they always gave as a reason that the dead chief had left no children. Feuds between clans of the same tribe caused frequent disturbances, though these same clans usually acted together against the adjoining tribe.

After the removal in 1694 of the reverend Pierre Simond to Drakenstein, there was no resident clergyman at Stellenbosch for nearly six years. Once in three months the clergyman of the Cape visited the vacant church and administered the sacraments, and occasionally Mr. Simond attended for the same purpose. On the remaining Sundays the sick-comforter conducted the services. At length the assembly of seventeen appointed the reverend Hercules van Loon, who had once been acting clergyman of the Cape, resident clergyman of Stellenbosch. He arrived from the Netherlands on the 11th of April 1700.

In April 1678 the foundation of a church in Table Valley had been laid, but with that the work had ceased. For another quarter of a century services were conducted in a large hall within the castle. But in course of time the poor funds accumulated to a considerable amount, and the consistory then consented to apply a sum equal to £2,200 of our money to the erection of the building. As the original plan was now considered too small, it was enlarged, and a new foundation stone was laid by the governor on the 28th of December 1700. By the close of the year 1703 the edifice was finished, except the

tower. The first service in it was held on the 6th of January 1704, the reverend Petrus Kalden being the preacher. Of the building then constructed the tower and one of the end walls still remain, the last forming part of the eastern wall of the present church.

At Drakenstein service was conducted sometimes in the front room of a farmer's house, sometimes in a large barn, there being as yet no church building. There was a French clergyman, who was assisted by a French sick-comforter. In April 1700 a sick-comforter and schoolmaster was first appointed for the Dutch portion of the congregation, that had previously been neglected. An able and zealous man named Jacobus de Groot, who was returning from India to Europe, was detained here for the purpose.

The reverend Mr. Simond had prepared a new version in metre of the psalms of David, which he was desirous of submitting to a synod of the French churches, as great interest had been taken in the work by the Huguenots in Europe. He therefore tendered his resignation, to the regret of the Drakenstein people, and requested permission to return to the Netherlands. The assembly of seventeen consented to his request, on condition of his remaining until the arrival of the reverend Hendrik Bek, whom they appointed to succeed him. Mr. Bek reached the Cape in April 1702, and was installed at Drakenstein a few weeks later.

There was a desire on the part of the directors that in the families of the Huguenot immigrants the French language should be superseded by the Dutch as speedily as possible. It was only a question of time, for the proportion of French-speaking people was too small compared with those of Dutch and German descent for their language to remain long in use in the mixed community. To expedite its decay the new clergyman was directed to conduct the public services in Dutch, though he had been selected because he was conversant with French and could

therefore admonish, comfort, and pray with the aged Huguenots who understood no other tongue. Instructions were at the same time sent out that the school children were to be taught to read and write Dutch only. The sick-comforter Paul Roux was not prevented, however, from ministering to the Huguenots of any age in whichever tongue was most familiar to them.

This arrangement created much dissatisfaction. The French immigrants sent in a memorial requesting that Mr. Bek should be instructed to preach in their language once a fortnight. They stated that they comprised over a hundred adults, not more than twenty-five of whom understood sufficient Dutch to gather the meaning of a sermon. There was also even a larger number of children of their nationality. The council of policy recommended the memorial to the favourable consideration of the assembly of seventeen; but before action could be taken upon it, Mr. Bek requested to be removed to Stellenbosch as successor to Mr. Van Loon, who died by his own hand on the 27th of June 1704. The directors then appointed the reverend Engelbertus Franciscus le Boucq* clergyman of Drakenstein, and gave instructions that upon his arrival from Batavia Mr. Bek should be transferred to Stellenbosch. They gave the council of policy permission to allow the French language to be used alternately with the Dutch in the church services at Drakenstein, if it should seem advisable to do so.

The newly appointed minister did not reach the Cape until the 30th of March 1707. Mr. Bek then took charge

* This clergyman was of French descent, was educated for the ministry of the Roman catholic church, and had been a monk in the abbey of Boneffe in Belgium. After becoming a Protestant he wrote a book entitled *Dwalingen van het Pausdom.* He could converse in many languages, and was unquestionably a man of high ability and learning, but he was of irascible disposition and wherever he went was engaged in strife. After he left South Africa he became a doctor of laws, and died at a very advanced age at Batavia in 1748, after having been during the preceding nineteen years minister of the Protestant Portuguese congregation at that place.

of the Stellenbosch congregation, which had been for nearly three years without a clergyman, except once in three months when he had preached and administered the sacraments. Mr. Le Boucq should have taken up the duties in the parish to which he had been appointed, but instead of doing so, he got into difficulties at the Cape, as will be related in the next chapter, and Drakenstein was for several years without a resident clergyman.

In the evening of the 3rd of April 1702 the outward bound ship *Meresteyn*, an Indiaman of the first class, ran ashore on Jutten Island, and in less than an hour broke into little pieces. Her skipper was endeavouring to reach Saldanha Bay, and the ship was in a heavy surf before any one on board suspected danger. The majority of her crew were lost, as also were two women and five children passengers for the Cape. Ninety-nine persons managed to reach the shore.

In March 1702 a marauding party consisting of forty-five white men and the same number of Hottentots, whose deeds were afterwards prominently brought to light, left Stellenbosch, and remained away seven months. They travelled eastward until they reached the neighbourhood of the Fish river, where at daylight one morning they were attacked unexpectedly and without provocation by a band of Xosa warriors who were fugitives from their own country and were living in friendship with the Hottentots. The assailants were beaten off, followed up, and when they turned and made another stand, were defeated again, losing many men. One European was killed. The party then commenced a career of robbery, excusing their acts to themselves under the plea that they were undertaken in retaliation. They fell upon the Gonaquas and other Hottentot hordes, shot many of them, and drove off their cattle.

The perpetrators of these scandalous acts were not brought to justice. In after years when the governor and the colonists were at variance, and each party was en-

deavouring to blacken the reputation of the other, the governor stated that they were in league with the colonists and were too numerous to be punished without ruining half the settlement. This statement was, however, indignantly contradicted by the most respectable burghers, who asserted that the marauding Europeans were miscreants without families or homes, being chiefly fugitives from justice and men of loose character who had been imprudently discharged from the Company's service. The burghers maintained that they ought to have been punished. The names of the forty-five white men who formed the robber band are given. Forty of them are quite unknown in South Africa at the present day, and the remaining five are of that class that cannot be distinguished with certainty, so that the statements of the burghers are strongly borne out.

Owing chiefly to the scarcity of timber and fuel, in 1705 it was resolved to send an expedition to Natal and the adjoining coast, to make an inspection of the country, and particularly of the forests there. The schooner *Centaurus,* which had been built at Natal in 1686-7, principally from timber growing on the shore of the inlet, was a proof that the wood was valuable, for she had been in use nearly fourteen years before needing repair. The galiot *Postlooper* was made ready for the expedition. Her master, Theunis van der Schelling, had visited Natal when he was mate of the *Noord* in 1689 and 1690, and therefore knew the harbour. He was instructed to make a thorough exploration of the forests, and to frame a chart of the coast. A sailor who was expert in drawing pictures was sent to take sketches of the scenery.

The *Postlooper* sailed on the 20th of November 1705. She reached Natal on the 29th of December, and found the bar so silted up that she could only cross at high water. There were not so many cattle in the neighbourhood as there had been sixteen years before. Wood still remained in considerable quantities.

In December 1689 a purchase of the inlet and surrounding land had been made from the chief then living at Port Natal, and had been recorded in a formal contract, two copies of which had been drawn up. The one kept by the Dutch officers was lost when the *Noord* was wrecked in January 1690, and the master of the *Postlooper* had therefore received instructions to endeavour to procure the other, that had been left with the chief, in order that a notarial copy might be made. The chief who sold the ground was dead, and his son was now the head of the tribe or clan, whichever it may have been. Upon Skipper Van der Schelling making inquiry of him concerning the document, the chief stated that he knew nothing about it, and supposed it had been buried with his father's other effects. It was evident that he did not recognise the sale as binding upon him or his people.

At Natal an Englishman was found who gave his name as Vaughan Goodwin, and who stated that he was a native of London. He had two wives and several children. His story was that he arrived in February 1699 in a vessel named the *Fidele*, and with two others had been left behind by Captain Stadis, who intended to form a settlement there. They were to purchase ivory from the blacks, for which purpose goods had been left with them, and were to keep possession of the place until Captain Stadis should return, which he promised them would certainly be within three years; but he had not yet made his appearance. In 1700 the blacks some distance inland had killed the other white men on account of their having become robbers.

The life which Goodwin was leading seemed so attractive to two of the *Postlooper's* crew that they ran away from the vessel. When crossing the bar in leaving Natal the galiot lurched, and the tiller struck the skipper in the chest and hurt him so badly that he became unfit for duty. There was no one on board who could take his place, so the vessel returned to the Cape without any

further attempt at exploration being made by her crew. She dropped anchor again in Table Bay on the 8th of March 1706.

The directors were desirous of procuring sheep's wool from South Africa, as some samples sent to Europe were pronounced of excellent quality. They were of opinion that if it could be produced at seventeen pence halfpenny a kilogramme, they would be able to make a good profit from it, and the colonists would have another reliable source of income. Instructions were sent to the government to have this industry taken in hand by the burghers. But it was not a pursuit that commended itself to South African farmers at that time. Although a good many European sheep had been imported in former years, there were very few of pure breed left, nearly all having been crossed with the large tailed animal. It was commonly believed that woolled sheep were more subject to scab than others, and the havoc created by that disease was so great that the farmers were in constant dread of it. Then there was the expense of separate herds. Further the carcase of the woolled sheep was not so valuable as that of the other, so that the graziers who bred for slaughter could not be induced even to make experiments.

In 1700 the government sent home one hundred and twenty-nine kilogrammes of wool shorn from sheep belonging to the Company. This was received with favour, but instead of increasing, the quantity fell off in succeeding years. In 1703 one small bale was all that could be obtained. It realised about thirty-two pence English money a kilogramme on the market in Amsterdam. In 1704 a very small quantity was procured, in 1705 none at all, and in 1706 fifty-two kilogrammes. In the meantime the governor took the matter in hand as a private speculation. He collected all the wool-bearing sheep in the settlement at a farm of his own, wrote to Europe for rams and ewes of good breed and to Java for some Persian sheep, and was about to give the industry a fair trial when he was recalled.

The governor had previously endeavoured to encourage the production of silk. He made experiments with the white mulberry, which was found to grow and thrive well, but the silkworms which he obtained from imported eggs all died. He then gave up the trial, being of opinion that the mulberry was in leaf at the wrong season of the year for worms from the south of Europe.

A less important but more successful experiment made by this governor was placing partridges and pheasants on Robben Island to breed.

From 1698 to 1705 the seasons were very unfavourable for farming, and no wheat could be exported. In 1700 it became necessary to import rice from Java, as there was not sufficient grain in the country for the consumption of the people and the supply of fresh bread to the crews of ships. In 1705 the long drought broke up, and the crops were very good; but as the wheat was being reaped heavy rains set in and greatly damaged it. There was, however, a surplus above the requirements of the country, and in 1706 exportation was resumed and fourteen hundred muids were sent to Batavia.

The population of the colony was at this time increasing rapidly. The families of the burghers were generally large, they married at an early age, and no young women remained single. From Europe every year a few settlers were received. A custom had come into vogue of allowing soldiers and convalescent sailors to engage for short periods as servants to burghers, their wages and cost of maintenance being thus saved to the Company, while they were at hand in case of need. From a hundred to a hundred and fifty of the garrison and seamen were commonly out at service. A great many slaves were being introduced from Madagascar and Mozambique.

The bad seasons tended to produce a spirit of restlessness among the farming population, which was increased by the conduct of the principal officers of the government. Between Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel and the colonists

of South Africa there was not the slightest feeling of sympathy. In all the official documents of the period during which he was at the head of affairs, and the quantity is great, there is not a single expression like "our own Netherlanders" of his father. He requested the directors indeed to send out industrious Zeeland farmers and no more French cadets, but the sentence displays as little affection for the one class as for the other.

The governor was engaged in farming for his own benefit on a very large scale as things were estimated in those days. He could not take ground for himself, but in February 1700 a commissioner, Wouter Valckenier by name, holding authority from the governor-general and council of India, had visited the Cape, and at his request granted him in freehold four hundred morgen of land at Hottentots-Holland. To this he afterwards added by granting a tract of the adjoining ground to a subordinate official, and then purchasing it from that individual at a nominal rate. The estate he named Vergelegen.

Upon it he built a commodious dwelling house, with a flour mill, a leather tannery, a workshop for making wooden water pipes, wine and grain stores, an overseer's cottage, a slave lodge, and very extensive outbuildings. He was in the habit of frequently residing there for ten days or a fortnight at a time, when public business was partly suspended. This was concealed from the directors, for there is no mention of Vergelegen or of the governor's absence from the castle in the official journal of occurrences or the correspondence of the period, copies of which were sent to Holland. On the estate were planted nearly half a million vines, or fully one fourth of the whole number in the colony in 1706. Groves, orchards, and cornlands were laid out to a corresponding extent. Beyond the mountains at various places the governor had six or eight hundred horned cattle and eight or ten thousand sheep.

The secunde, Samuel Elsevier, obtained a grant of the farm Elsenburg, near Klapmuts. The reverend Petrus

1. Mai 1947

Kalden, clergyman of the Cape, in like manner obtained the farm Zandvliet, between Stellenbosch and the head of False Bay. These officials engaged in agriculture and stock breeding on a much smaller scale than the governor; but, in the case of the clergyman especially, neglected their public duties to attend to their private properties. The governor's brother, Frans van der Stel, was a farmer at Hottentots-Holland. His father was a farmer at Constantia. The market for produce was small, and all of these persons had an entry to it before the burghers could dispose of anything.

There has never been a people less inclined to submit to grievances, real or imaginary, than the colonists of South Africa. Some of the farmers determined to complain to the supreme authorities, and in 1705 privately forwarded to the governor-general and council of India a list of charges. At Batavia no action was taken in the matter. While the complainants were awaiting a reply, one of their number, Adam Tas by name, a native of Amsterdam and now a burgher of Stellenbosch, drew up a memorial to the directors in the fatherland. This document contained thirty-eight paragraphs, some of great length, in which the governor and the others were accused of acting as has been stated, and the governor was further charged with corruption, extortion, and oppression.

It was affirmed that he employed the Company's servants and slaves at his farm; that he used the Company's materials for building; that his agents when sent to barter cattle from the Hottentots had taken them by violence; that he bought wine at very low rates from those who could find no market for it, and disposed of it at very high rates to strangers; that instead of licensing by auction four dealers in wine, to each of whom the farmers could sell without restriction, he caused the privilege of dealing in that article by retail to be sold as a monopoly to a man who would buy his at a good price; and that he would make no grant of land without a bribe. Some

other offences of an equally serious nature were complained of. The memorial was signed by sixty-three individuals, thirty-one of whom were Frenchmen. Their intention was to send it to the directors with the return fleet in the early months of 1706.

The official records of the early years of Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel's administration, to which the burghers had no access, prove that some of the most serious of the charges against him were without foundation. One of his principal opponents—Jacob van der Heiden—was at a later date strongly suspected of having been guilty of dishonest practices himself, and there is good ground for believing that the opposition of another—Henning Huising—arose from his loss at the end of 1705 of the lucrative contract he had held for five years. At the instance of the governor, tenders were called for, and four butchers were licensed, the price of meat being fixed at four pence a kilogramme to the Company and four pence halfpenny to burghers. Huising resented this, and as the contract had made him the richest man in the community, he could make his resentment felt.

But after taking these circumstances into consideration, the charges that were unquestionably true make a formidable indictment, and the majority of the governor's opponents were the most godfearing and respectable men in the country. Among them was J. W. Grevenbroek, recently an elder at Stellenbosch, who took an active part in the movement, though his name was not attached to the memorial.

With the arrival of the homeward bound fleet on the 4th of February 1706 it came to the governor's knowledge that a document in which he was accused of malpractices had been sent to Batavia in the previous year. He immediately concluded that similar charges would be forwarded to the Netherlands, and that a memorial embodying them must be in existence; but he was unable to learn where it was, or who were parties to it. The danger of his

position now drove him to acts of extreme folly as well as of tyranny. He caused a certificate to be drawn up, in which he was credited with the highest virtues, and the utmost satisfaction was expressed with his administration. The burgher residents of the peninsula were invited to the castle, and were then requested to sign this certificate. The landdrost of Stellenbosch, Jan Starrenburg by name, who had held office since July 1705, was directed to proceed with an armed party from house to house in the country, and get the residents there to sign it also. By these means two hundred and forty names in all were obtained, including those of a few Asiatics and free blacks.* Many, however, refused to affix their signatures, even under the landdrost's threats that they would be marked men if they did not.

The governor suspected that Adam Tas was the writer of the memorial, so the landdrost was directed to have him arrested. Early in the morning of Sunday the 28th of February 1706 his house was surrounded by an armed party, he was seized and sent as a prisoner to the castle, his premises were searched, and his writing desk was carried away. There could be no truce after this between the governor and his opponents, for if a burgher could be treated in this manner, upon mere suspicion of having drawn up a memorial to the high authorities, no man's liberty would be safe. Bail was immediately offered for the appearance of Tas before a court of justice, but was refused. He was committed to prison, where he was kept nearly fourteen months.

In his desk was found the draft from which the memorial to the directors had been copied. It was unsigned, but a list containing a number of names and various letters which were with it indicated several of those who had taken part in the compilation. The completed memorial was at the time in the house of a burgher

* This document is in as good a state of preservation as if it had been drawn up yesterday.

in Table Valley, where it was intended to be kept until it could be sent away with the return fleet.

The governor thus became acquainted with the nature and terms of the charges against him. Some of the accusations were so overdrawn that he felt confident the directors upon reading them would acquit him of all, and in this belief he did not hesitate to request that a competent and impartial person might be sent out with the first opportunity to examine matters.

On the 4th of March a number of ships' officers were invited to assist in the deliberations of the council of policy, and the retired and acting burgher councillors were summoned to give evidence. These answered a few questions put to them by the governor, in a manner favourable to him. The broad council then consented to the issue of a placaat, in which all persons were forbidden to take part in any conspiracy or to sign any malicious or slanderous document against the authorities of the country, under pain of severe punishment. The ringleaders in such acts were threatened with death or corporal chastisement. The fiscal and the landdrost were authorised to seize persons suspected of such offences, and to commit them to prison. This placaat was on the following Sunday affixed to the door of the Stellenbosch church.

Within the next few days the governor caused the burghers Wessel Pretorius and Jacob van der Heiden to be arrested and committed to prison, Jan Rotterdam to be sent to Batavia, and Pieter van der Byl, Henning Huising, Ferdinand Appel, and Jan van Meerland to be put on board a ship bound to Amsterdam. The burghers deported were informed that they must answer before the supreme authorities at the places of their destination to the charges of sedition and conspiracy that would be forwarded by the Cape council, and if they had any complaints they might make them there also.

By these highhanded proceedings the governor hoped to terrify his opponents into signing the certificate in his

favour and denying the truth of the charges against him. But not one of those who were confined on board the ships in the bay faltered for a moment. Their wives petitioned that the prisoners might be brought to trial at once before a proper court of justice, and when it was hinted that if they would induce their husbands to do what was desired, release would follow, these truehearted women indignantly refused.

The arrest and committal to prison of Nicolaas van der Westhuizen, Christiaan Wynoch, Hans Jacob Konterman, and Nicolaas Meyboom followed shortly. In the meantime the memorial had been committed to the care of Abraham Bogaert, a physician in the return fleet, who was refreshing himself on shore, and who had warm sympathy with the burghers. On the 4th of April the fleet sailed, and when at sea and all fear of search was over Bogaert delivered the document to Henning Huising.

The anchors of the ships were being raised and the topsails being sheeted home when the governor must have reflected that he was making a mistake in sending four of the burghers to Europe. In great haste he embarked in a galiot and followed the fleet as far as Robben Island. In the official records it is stated that he did this to show respect to the admiral, but no such method of showing respect was practised here before or since, and his opponents were probably right when they asserted that his object was to overtake the ship in which the burghers were, and release them. He did not succeed in doing this, however.

Within a week or two further arrests were made, when Jacob de Savoye, Pierre Meyer, Jacob Louw, Jacob Cloete, and one or two others were placed in detention. The health of some of the prisoners broke down under the rigorous treatment to which they were subjected: one —Van der Heiden—was confined for twenty-seven days in a foul dungeon, with a black criminal as his companion. Most of them then, to obtain their liberty, disowned the

truth of the assertions in the memorial, and expressed contrition for having signed it. They excused themselves afterwards for so doing by arguing that it could not affect the charges against the officials, which would be brought before the directors by those who were then on the way to Europe. And so after an imprisonment varying in duration from a few days to a few weeks, all were released except Adam Tas and Jacob Louw.

For a short time matters were now quiet, but on the governor coming to learn the names of some more of his opponents, Willem van Zyl, François du Toit, Guillaume du Toit, Hercules du Pré, Cornelis van Niekerk, Martin van Staden, Jacobus van Brakel, Jan Elberts, and Nicolaas Elberts were cited to appear before the court of justice. These came to a resolution not to obey the summons before the decision of the directors should be known, and so they failed to attend. They were cited by placaat, but in vain. In consequence, on the 9th of August, by a majority of the court of justice sitting with closed doors each of them was sentenced for contumacy to be banished to Mauritius for five years and to pay a fine of £41 13*s* 4*d*., half for the landdrost as prosecutor and half for the court. They were at the same time declared incapable of ever holding any political or military office in the colony.

This sentence was made public on the 23rd of August, and it tended to increase the hostility to the government. The military outposts, excepting those at Waveren, Klapmuts, Groenekloof, and Saldanha Bay, at which twenty-four men in all were stationed, had been broken up before this date, so the burghers felt free to act.

In the early morning of the 18th of September the farmers of Waveren, Riebeek's Kasteel, and Drakenstein rode armed into the village of Stellenbosch, and at beat of drum drew up near the landdrost's office. Starrenburg went out to them, and requested the drummer to be still; but that individual, who was a Frenchman, kept on beat-

ing, only observing that he did not understand Dutch. Some persons, to show their contempt for the landdrost, began to dance round the drum. Others inquired why there was to be no fair this year, such as there had always been since 1686. Starrenburg replied that the Indian authorities had prohibited it; but they would not believe him, and laid the blame upon the Cape government. Yet it was correct that the Indian authorities were solely responsible in this matter, as with a view to save expense, on the 29th of November 1705 they had instructed the council of policy not to contribute longer towards the prizes or to furnish wine and ale at the cost of the Company. There was thus no kermis or fair in 1706 and later.

After this the women expressed their views. The wives of Pieter van der Byl and Wessel Pretorius, speaking for all, informed the landdrost that they had no intention of submitting to his tyranny, but were resolved to maintain their rights. The spirit of the women of the country districts was thoroughly roused, and their opposition was as formidable as that of their husbands.* Starrenburg was obliged to return to his house in humiliation. The burghers remained in the village the whole day, setting him at defiance, but otherwise preserving perfect order.

A few days later two of the persons sentenced to banishment appeared in Stellenbosch without any support, and jeered at the landdrost, who dared not attempt to arrest them, as he could not even depend upon his subordinates. All respect for the government was gone.

It was now arranged between the governor and the landdrost that during the night of the 28th of September, after the closing of the castle gate, a party of mounted soldiers should march secretly to the Kuilen. At two o'clock in the morning of the 29th the landdrost was to

* "Maar Edele Gestrenge Heer, de wyven zyn alsoo gevaarlyk als de mans, en zyn niet stil." Extract from a letter of the landdrost Starrenburg to the governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, 18th September 1706.

meet them there, and was then before daylight to arrest those who were believed to be the leaders of the defiant party. But a petty official at the Kuilen, who sympathised with the burghers, managed to detain the party for a time, and when they at length left to try and seize Cornelis van Niekerk in his bed, the alarm had been given.

Daylight broke, no one had been captured, and there was nothing left for the landdrost and the soldiers but to retire to the village of Stellenbosch. No one there would give any information or sell a particle of food to the troops, and the landdrost was obliged to kill his own goats for their use until provisions could be sent from the Cape. Starrenburg having now soldiers at his back, the burghers sentenced to exile fled to Twenty-four Rivers, where they concealed themselves. The landdrost did his best to capture them, and on the 4th of February 1707 succeeded in arresting Hercules du Pré and Jacobus van Brakel, who were sent on board the Mauritius packet. A month later Guillaume du Toit was also arrested. During this time the governor dismissed the heemraden and other officers who had been elected in the legitimate manner, and arbitrarily appointed creatures of his own to the vacant places.

At this juncture the homeward bound fleet arrived from Batavia, and in one of the ships was Jan Rotterdam, who returned to the colony in triumph. The governor-general and council of India had taken very little notice of the charges made against him by the authorities here, had treated him with exceptional kindness, and given him a free passage back. A ship also arrived from Europe, and brought letters to some of the burghers, informing them that their case had been decided favourably by the directors. As yet no official despatches had been received, but on the 16th of April 1707 the *Kattendyk* from Texel cast anchor in Table Bay, and her skipper, in presence of witnesses as he had been in-

structed to do, delivered to the governor a letter from the assembly of seventeen dated the 30th of October 1706.

Of the four burghers sent to Europe, one, Jan van Meerland, died on the passage home. The others, on arriving at Amsterdam, presented to the directors the memorial which Tas had drawn up. The charges made by the authorities at the Cape had already been received, as had been the governor's denial of some of the statements made by the burghers, and explanation of others. In a matter of this kind it was necessary to act with promptitude as well as with justice. The Company had numerous and powerful enemies always watching for an opportunity to arraign it before the states-general, and a charge of oppression of free Netherlanders in one of its colonies would be a formidable weapon for them to use. A commission of investigation was therefore appointed without delay, and the documents were laid before it.

The commission sent in a report condemning the governor and those who acted with him, in consequence of which the letter brought by the *Kattendyk* was written. It announced that the governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, the secunde Samuel Elsevier, the clergyman Petrus Kalden, and the landdrost Jan Starrenburg were removed from office and ordered to proceed to Europe with the first opportunity. The governor's brother, Frans van der Stel, was to betake himself to some place outside of the Company's possessions. The burghers were acquitted of conspiracy, the three sent to Europe were restored to their homes at the Company's expense, and orders were given that if any were in prison in the colony they should be immediately released. It was announced that Louis van Assenburgh, who had previously been an officer in the army of the German emperor, had been appointed governor, and Johan Cornelis d'Ableing, recently commander at Palembang, secunde. In case neither of these should arrive in the colony at an early date, the administration was to be assumed by the independent fiscal Johan

Blesius and the other members of the council of policy acting as a commission.

The Mauritius packet had not sailed when this letter arrived, and the fiscal, who was directed by the assembly of seventeen to carry out their instructions, at once set at liberty the five burghers Adam Tas, Jacob Louw, Jacobus van Brakel, Hercules du Pré, and Guillaume du Toit. The first named henceforth called his farm Libertas, to signify that freedom had been won, or, as he wittily explained to inquirers as to the meaning of the term, to denote that Tas was free. The place is still so called.

Next morning the council of policy met. It was resolved that the administration should be transferred to the fiscal and others on the 15th of May, if the newly appointed secunde, who was on his way out, should not arrive before that date. It was Sunday, and the reverend Mr. Kalden preached twice in the church.

During the week an arrangement was made by which the reverend Messrs. Le Boucq and Bek should conduct the services on alternate Sundays at the Cape, and Mr. Kalden ceased to officiate. Starrenburg, whose last report was that the mutineers were constantly reviling him and that only a Masaniello was wanting to produce an open outbreak, was sent by the fiscal on board a ship returning to Europe. An officer named Samuel Martin de Meurs was appointed to act provisionally as landdrost.

Johan Cornelis d'Ableing, the newly appointed secunde, arrived on the 6th of May 1707. He was a nephew of the recalled governor Van der Stel, and, under pretence that the books required to be balanced, postponed taking over the administration until the 3rd of June. The recalled officials could not then leave for Europe before the arrival of the homeward bound fleet of the following year.

From the vast quantity of contemporaneous printed and manuscript matter relating to the complaints against Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, the views of the directors and of the colonists concerning the government of the

country and the rights of its people can be gathered with great precision. In the Netherlands at that period representative institutions, such as are now believed to be indispensable to liberty, were unknown. Yet the people were free in reality as well as in name. There is not a word expressing a wish on the part of the burghers for an alteration in the form of government, what they desired being merely that the administration should be placed in honest hands, and that their rights should be respected.

The directors desired to have here a large body of freemen in comfortable circumstances, loyal to the fatherland, ready and willing to assist in the defence of the colony if attacked, enjoying the same rights as their peers in Europe, and without much diversity of rank or position. They stated clearly and distinctly that the closer the equality between the burghers could be preserved the more satisfactory it would be to them. Positive orders were issued that large tracts of land, upon which several families could obtain a living, were not to be granted to any individual.

In giving directions concerning Vergelegen, they stated that as its grant by the commissioner Valckenier to the governor had never been reported to them, they resumed possession of the ground. The large dwelling house upon it, being adapted for ostentation and not for the use of a farmer, must be broken down. The late governor could sell the materials for his own benefit. The other buildings and improvements could be fairly valued, and the amount be paid to Mr. Van der Stel, or he could break them down and dispose of the materials if he preferred to do so. The ground must then be divided into four farms, and each be sold separately by auction.

An estate such as Vergelegen would by many people to-day be considered useful as a model. Van der Stel had imported the choicest vines, plants, and trees from foreign countries, and was making extensive experiments there.

The ground was the most skilfully tilled in the whole country. But the directors held that such a farm as this, owned by one individual and cultivated chiefly by slave labour, could not be of the same advantage to the infant colony as a number of smaller ones, each in possession of a sturdy European proprietor.

For this reason Frans van der Stel was required to sell his property and remove to some country not included in the Company's charter. The former governor Simon van der Stel was left in possession of his farm Constantia, but directions were given that upon his death the other land which he held should revert to the Company.

Emphatic instructions were issued that for the future no servant of the Company, from the highest to the lowest, was to own or lease land in the colony, or to trade directly or indirectly in corn, wine, or cattle. Those who had landed property could sell it, but if they should not do so within a reasonable period, it would be confiscated. The burghers were not to be molested in their right to dispose of their cattle or the produce of their ground in any way that suited them. They were to be governed in accordance with law and justice.

On their part, the colonists claimed exactly the same rights as if they were still living in the fatherland. They held that any restrictions to which the early burghers had agreed were of a temporary nature, and affected only those who consented to them. In their opinion they had forfeited nothing by removal to a dependency, and the violence displayed by the governor towards Adam Tas and his associates was as outrageous as if it had taken place in the city of Amsterdam. They asserted their undoubted right to personal liberty, to exemption from arrest unless under reasonable suspicion of crime, to admission to bail, to speedy trial before a proper court of justice, to freedom to sell to any one, burgher or foreigner, whatever their land produced, after the tithes had been paid and the Company's needs had been supplied, except under special

circumstances when restriction was needed for the good of the community. And these claims, made in as explicit terms as they could be to-day by an Englishman living in a crown colony, were not challenged by the directors or even the partisans of the late governor, but were accepted by everyone as unquestioned. They were the ideals of the proper working and spirit of government held by the great bulk of the people of the Netherlands at the beginning of the eighteenth century, before democratic principles or socialistic views had gained ground among the labouring classes or were even dimly foreshadowed in the minds of men who toiled with their hands for their bread. Such a system answered admirably in the fatherland, and the Cape burghers desired to maintain it unimpaired in South Africa.

The directors of the East India Company also did not oppose these claims, for they were fully aware that a colony of free Netherlanders was to be ruled in a different manner from a dependency inhabited by Asiatics.

CHAPTER XXXIX

JOHAN CORNELIS D'ABLEING, SECUNDE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 3RD JUNE 1707 TO 1ST FEBRUARY 1708.
LOUIS VAN ASSENBURGH, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 1ST FEBRUARY 1708, DIED 27TH DECEMBER 1711.
WILLEM HELOT, SECUNDE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 28TH DECEMBER 1711 TO 28TH MARCH 1714.

THE only circumstance deserving note during the few months that the secunde D'Ableing was at the head of the government was the violent conduct of the reverend Mr. Le Boucq, which caused much disquiet in the community. That clergyman had arrived at the Cape at a time of clamour and strife, and instead of preaching peace, at once became a promoter of further discord. He took side with the colonists, though there was no good object to be gained by his entering into the question of party politics, since all that the burghers had contended for was secured. He was conversant with the Portuguese language, and could therefore have been of greater service in India than here, but as he was of quarrelsome disposition the authorities at Batavia were glad to get rid of him.

Upon Mr. Le Boucq's arrival at the Cape, the reverend Mr. Bek removed to Stellenbosch, that the new clergyman might enter upon his duties; but as soon as he ascertained that there was neither church nor parsonage at Drakenstein, he declined to take up the work. Before any pressure could be put upon him, the reverend Mr. Kalden was suspended, and the government then decided that Messrs. Bek and Le Boucq should conduct the services at the Cape on alternate Sundays. After a little, the two ministers arranged between themselves that Mr. Le Boucq

should take all the services at the Cape, Mr. Bek going occasionally to Drakenstein; and to this the government made no objection.

The Dutch sick-comforter of Drakenstein had been transferred to the Cape, and the council now resolved to send some one else there. On the 8th of June 1707 Mr. Hermanus Bosman, sick-comforter of the ship *Overryp*, was selected for the post. Thereafter he conducted service in Dutch, and Mr. Paul Roux in French, at the houses of farmers at Drakenstein, except when Mr. Bek went over from Stellenbosch.

In the morning of Sunday the 28th of August 1707 the congregation of the Cape assembled in the church and listened to an exciting sermon prepared and read by Mr. Le Boucq. He had chosen as text the first verse of the 29th chapter of Proverbs, and had previously given out the last two verses of the 149th psalm to be sung. According to his exposition, the saints were the burghers who had recently made a stand for freedom, the noble who hardened his neck and was in consequence destroyed was the recalled governor Van der Stel. At the last election of church officers, Abraham Poulle, who was in the government service, had been chosen elder, and the burgher Jan Oberholster, who submitted quietly to the ruling of the authorities, had been appointed deacon. When the service was ended, the clergyman announced that these persons were deprived of their offices, and exhorted the congregation not to acknowledge them any longer.

This proceeding took most of the congregation by surprise, and caused great excitement to many individuals. One woman fainted, and was carried out of the church to the hospital. No member of the government or of the consistory anticipated anything of the kind, though they were accustomed to very eccentric acts of the clergyman. The members of the council of policy at once retired, and held a consultation, after which they sent a request to Mr.

Le Boucq not to conduct service in the afternoon, a request which he construed into an order.

Next morning he sent a letter to the council, in which he asserted his right as a clergyman to depose elders and deacons without assigning any reason for doing so, and protested against interference by lay officials in spiritual matters. He followed this up by a letter on the 6th of September, in which he stated that he did not intend to perform service again until the council admitted his views to be correct. Thereupon the council suspended payment of his salary, and instructed Mr. Bek to assume duty at the Cape. Mr. Kalden was requested to assist in the emergency, and showed himself very willing to do so, by holding service occasionally so as to allow Mr. Bek to visit Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.

By the more violent members of the party which he had espoused Mr. Le Boucq was now regarded as a martyr. He went about declaiming against the government, and stirring up people's passions until it was considered necessary to bring him to task. Certain language of his was reported to the government, upon which it was intended to bring a charge. The principal witness was Maria Lindenhof, daughter of a clergyman in Overyssel, wife of Henning Huising, and aunt of Adam Tas. Upon being questioned, she asserted that she had forgotten what he said. The court of justice then decided to confine her for eight days to her own house, and then to place her under civil arrest if she did not in the mean time give correct evidence. She remained obdurate, and after eight days was confined in a suite of rooms in the castle. A petition for her release, signed by Tas, Grevenbroek, Van der Byl, and twenty-four others, men and women, was sent in, and after nine days' detention in the castle the government thought it best to liberate her.

Mr. Le Boucq next appeared before the court of justice as a litigant in a case with Mr. Kalden, and, upon judgment being recorded against him, appealed to Batavia.

There also the decision was against him. In the mean time the council of policy, in the belief that concord could not be expected at the Cape as long as this quarrelsome clergyman was here, resolved, 17th of January 1708, to send him back to Batavia with the first outward bound ship; but it was not until the 13th of the following September that this resolution could be carried into effect.

On the 25th of January 1708 Governor Louis van Assenburgh arrived in Table Bay, and next morning he presided at a meeting of the council of policy, though he did not at once assume the direction of affairs. He had been eight months on the passage from Holland, and had been obliged to put into a port on the coast of Brazil. In the same ship with the governor was the reverend Johannes Godfried d'Ailly, who had been appointed clergyman of the Cape, and who preached here for the first time on the 5th of February. Henning Huising, one of the deported burghers, was also on board. He had entered into a contract with the directors for the supply of half the meat required by the Company at the Cape during the next three years, the object of dividing the contract being to secure competition. Pieter van der Byl and Ferdinand Appel had reached the colony seven months before.

When the arrival of the governor was known at Vergelegen, Mr. Van der Stel sent a petition to the council of policy requesting that he might be allowed to retain the estate a few months longer, as he had hopes that by the next fleet from Europe intelligence would be received that the directors had mitigated their decision. The council refused to comply, and the utmost that he could obtain was permission to press the grapes then ripening and dispose of half the wine on his own account, the other half to be for the Company. The quantity pressed was fifty-six leggers of five hundred and seventy-six litres each.

On the 23rd of February Henning Huising summoned Mr. Van der Stel before the court of justice for £3,056 in

addition to the value of nine thousand sheep. The late governor then requested the council of policy to allow him to remain in South Africa another year, in order to get evidence to defend himself in this case; but upon Huising stating that he preferred bringing the action in the fatherland to being the means of keeping Van der Stel longer in the colony, the council declined to accede to his request.

On the 23rd of April the return fleet sailed, taking to Europe the late governor, secunde, and clergyman of the Cape, with their families. Nineteen of the burghers empowered Adam Tas and Jacob van der Heiden to continue pressing their charges against the recalled officials, for these, though deprived of authority, were still servants of the Company and receiving salaries. Tas and Van der Heiden therefore left in the same fleet. Another investigation took place in Amsterdam, which resulted in the absolute dismissal of Van der Stel, Elsevier, and Kalden from the Company's service. They left agents in the colony to dispose of their estates and transmit the proceeds.

Vergelegen was divided into four farms, which were sold by auction in October 1709. It was found on measurement to contain six hundred and thirteen morgen. The large dwelling house was broken down, and the material was sold for Van der Stel's benefit. The other buildings were taken over by the Company for £625, though the materials of which they were constructed were appraised at a much higher sum. The four farms brought £1,695 at public sale, the purchasers being Barend Gildenhuis, Jacob van der Heiden, Jacob Malan, and the widow of Gerrit Cloete.

Frans van der Stel returned to Europe in the same fleet with his brother, and took up his residence in Amsterdam. His wife, Johanna Wessels, was a daughter of one of the leading burghers of the colony. She remained behind with her parents to dispose of the property

to the best advantage, and did not leave to rejoin her husband in Amsterdam until April 1717.

On the 1st of February 1708 Governor Louis van Assenburgh was installed in office. He had been a brave and skilful military officer, but in this country he speedily developed a fondness for the pleasures of the table, which caused him to be described as a winebibber. He carried out the instructions of the directors, however, in letter and in spirit, so that he won the regard of the burghers.

The return fleet of 1708 was under command of Cornelis Joan Simons, who had been the first independent fiscal at the Cape, and had resided here in that capacity from 1690 to 1694. He had recently been governor of Ceylon, and was now empowered by the governor-general and council of India to act as commissioner during his stay in South Africa. He issued a number of regulations, but the only one which needs to be mentioned here is that referring to the emancipation of slaves.

During the period that had elapsed since the first appearance of the Dutch in India and Africa, the views of Europeans with regard to African slavery had been gradually changing. At first blacks were enslaved on the plea that they were heathens, but a profession of Christianity sufficed to free them and to place them on a level in civil rights with their former masters. As time wore on, it became apparent that in most instances emancipation meant the conversion of a useful individual into an indolent pauper and a pest to society. Habits of industry, which in Europeans are the result of pressure of circumstances operating upon the race through hundreds of generations, were found to be altogether opposed to the disposition of Africans. Experience showed that a freed slave usually chose to live in a filthy hovel upon coarse and scanty food rather than toil for something better. Decent clothing was not a necessity of life to him, neither did he need other furniture in his hovel than a few cooking utensils. He put nothing by, and when sickness

came he was a burden upon the public. Such in general was the negro when left to himself in a country where sufficient food to keep life in his body was to be had without much exertion. Emancipation then became less common, and the view began to be held and asserted that slavery was the proper condition of the black race.

But it sometimes happened that a slave was set free from a desire on the part of the owner to be rid of all responsibility with regard to him. It was evident that if a check were not put upon such a practice, it might lead to people evading their liabilities, and to old, infirm, or otherwise helpless slaves being set free, in other words, cast upon the compassion of the community. To prevent this, the commissioner Simons, in his instructions to the Cape government, dated 19th of April 1708, directed that no slave was to be emancipated without security being given by the owner that the freed person should not become a charge upon the poor funds within ten years, according to the statutes of India. This was henceforth the law in South Africa.

There was, however, one notable exception to this law. It frequently happened that ladies returning from India to Europe took slave girls with them as waiting maids, and sometimes gentlemen were in the same way accompanied by their valets. These slaves were almost invariably sent back again, as they could be of no service in the Netherlands. The directors issued instructions that such persons were to be treated as free people, proof of their having been on the soil of the republic to be equivalent to letters of manumission.

This was the last year in which nominations from the Drakenstein consistory were sent in the French language. Upon receipt of the usual documents, written in French, the council of policy directed that in future the nominations of church officers and letters to the government must be in Dutch.

The island of Mauritius, hitherto a dependency of the Cape Colony, was at this time abandoned by the East

India Company. It was of hardly any use as a station for refreshment, and beyond a little ebony and ambergris it contributed nothing to commerce. It was further one of the usual places of resort of the numerous pirate ships which at that time infested the Indian seas, and whose crews were in the habit of landing on different parts of the coast and keeping the little Dutch settlement in a state of alarm as long as they remained ashore. The directors came to the conclusion that it was not worth the cost of maintaining a large garrison, and that with a small garrison it was not secure.

Of late years the Company had sustained severe losses there. During the night of the 9th of February 1695 the residency and magazines were destroyed by a violent hurricane. In 1701 a pirate ship was wrecked on the coast close to the settlement, when two hundred armed men got safely to shore, together with twelve English and thirty Indian prisoners out of captured vessels. The master of the buccaneers was an old acquaintance of the Dutch Company, having been in the *Amy* when she was seized in 1693 in Saldanha Bay. The colonists thought it prudent to take refuge in the fort. The commander of the island, Roelof Diodati, to get rid of the unwelcome visitors, was obliged to sell them at half price the Company's packet, for which they paid him £167 out of money saved from the wreck. On the 15th of November 1707 the Company's premises on the island were totally destroyed by fire, the books, records, and goods in the magazine being burned with everything else. The buildings were thatched with palmetto leaves, so that the progress of the flames was extremely rapid.

In February 1707 instructions were received at the Cape to withdraw the garrison. The colonists were to have the choice of removal to Java or the Cape. When this intelligence reached the island, the burghers were found to be very averse to the breaking up of their homes, but as a matter of necessity nine heads of families

elected to come to the Cape, the remainder preferring Batavia. In September 1708 two vessels, the *Carthago* and *Mercurius*, were sent to commence transporting the people and their effects. The *Carthago* went on to Batavia, the *Mercurius* returned to the Cape, and landed her passengers here on the 26th of January 1709. Among them were Daniel Zaaiman, Gerrit Romond, and Hendrik de Vries, with their families. The names of the others need not be given, as they have long since died out.

The *Beverwaart* was then sent to remove the garrison, and on the 25th of January 1710 Abraham Momber, the last Dutch commander, with the subordinate officers and the troops embarked in her and set sail for Batavia. Before going on board, the garrison destroyed everything within reach that could not be taken away. Even the forests were damaged as much as possible. All the hounds were left behind, that they might become wild and exterminate the game. The object of this wanton waste was to prevent the abandoned station being of service to any one else, but that object was defeated, for in the same year the French took possession of the island, and it was held by that nation until 1810, when it was annnexed to the British dominions.

On the 10th of January 1710 the retired governor-general Joan van Hoorn, accompanied by his wife* and daughter, arrived in Table Bay on his passage back to the Netherlands. He remained several weeks in the colony,

* Joanna Maria van Riebeek, eldest daughter of Abraham van Riebeek, and granddaughter of the first commander of the Cape station. She was still very young when after the death of her first husband, Gerard de Heere, governor of Ceylon, Mr. Van Hoorn, then a widower and advanced in years, offered her his hand, and on the 16th of November 1706 she became his wife. Her father succeeded her husband as governor-general of Netherlands India. Mr. Van. Hoorn had amassed enormous wealth, it being generally believed that he was worth ten tons of gold, that is £83,333 of English money. He could be generous at times, but ordinarily he was thrifty, if not miserly, to an extreme degree. At the Cape he presented a trifling amount to a domestic who had served him well, with the remark "keep that coin, it comes from Joan van Hoorn, and luck accompanies it."

where he acted as commissioner, presiding in the council and on all occasions taking precedence of the governor. On the 26th of February the three burgher councillors appeared before him, and on behalf of the whole body of freemen preferred a complaint. Instructions had recently been received from the supreme authorities to demand tithes of the whole quantity of corn gathered, and not of that portion only which was brought for sale, as had previously been the custom. The burgher councillors requested that the farmers might be relieved from payment of tithes of such grain as they required for their own consumption and for seed. The commissioner considered their request reasonable, and suspended the levy upon the whole until further instructions should be given.

The directors took another view, and in despatches received here in February 1711 the farmers were required to pay tithes upon all grain harvested, as those in Europe had to pay. In vain they represented to the council of policy that in the fatherland the tithe was collected upon the ground, whereas here it was delivered at the Company's magazines. They were informed that the council had no power to make concessions in opposition to commands of the supreme authorities. An effort was made in 1712 to farm out the tithes by public auction, the purchaser to collect upon the ground; but no one would make an offer of any kind. Then the directors required their share of the corn to be delivered in Capetown as before, and persisted in their claim, though it soon became evident that it was evaded to a very large extent.

It would be impossible to devise a worse method of taxation than this, so far as influence upon the character of a people is concerned. Once a year the farmers were required to make a return of the quantity of grain of different kinds which their lands yielded and of the number of cattle that they owned. Of the first, one-tenth was demanded by the Company; and on the last the district tax called lion and tiger money was collected, at the rate of

five pence for every thirty sheep or six large cattle. The people who regarded as grossly unjust the claim to a tithe of all their grain had thus the temptation placed before them of eluding payment by making false statements. The result was that only a fraction of the produce of the country was given in, and the burgher rolls, as far as property is concerned, are so misleading as to be worse than useless. Under this system of taxation four generations of colonists were born, for nearly three-quarters of a century passed away before a reform was made. That the whole of the people were not demoralised by it was owing solely to the strong hold which the principles of Christianity had upon them.

For four years the government kept possession of the writing desk of Adam Tas, which was seized when he was made a prisoner. A council, presided over by Mr. Van Hoorn, appointed a committee to examine its contents. A report was brought up that some of the papers were seditious, when it was resolved that they should be destroyed and the others be returned to Tas.

On the 10th of March, at another meeting of the council of policy under the presidency of Mr. Van Hoorn, various regulations were made with regard to the manner in which the church books should be kept, the poor funds be administered, and other matters of the kind. There was a very well informed clergyman, named Jan Marens, returning to Europe with the homeward bound fleet, and he was requested to give his views on these subjects, which he did in writing. The reverend Mr. D'Ailly did the same. Mr. Marens was of opinion that a classis or presbytery should be formed, to meet every three months, and to be composed of the full consistory of Capetown with the clergymen of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein and an elder from each of those congregations. When instructions were received from the directors in 1691 concerning the establishment of the congregation of Drakenstein, such meetings were provided for, but they had never been held.

Mr. D'Ailly was of opinion that they would be productive of strife, and he stated his conviction that the church authorities in the fatherland would certainly object to them. The council therefore decided that the matter must await the decision of the directors, and by them the formation of a presbytery was not approved of. The three churches thus remained independent of each other, their clergymen were regarded as chaplains of the East India Company, and the classis of Amsterdam continued to be the final court of appeal in matters ecclesiastical.

The schools were closely connected with the church and the consistory of each parish had control over those within its limits. But it was now resolved that the secunde and the clergyman of the Cape should act as scholarchen or general supervisors. In that capacity their principal duty was to examine the qualifications of persons desirous of becoming teachers, and reporting thereon to the government, as by law no one was allowed to keep a public school without special permission from the authorities, though before 1715 such permission was not necessary in the case of any one employing a private tutor in his own family. On the 3rd of September 1715 a regulation was made that no one released from the Company's service should follow any other occupation than the one mentioned in his certificate of discharge except with the written consent of the council, under penalty of being compelled to return to duty as a soldier or a sailor.

Another matter settled at this meeting of the council under the presidency of Mr. Van Hoorn was the direction in which Capetown should be enlarged when an increase of population required it. There was a desire on the part of some persons to encroach upon the open space between the castle and the Heerengracht, that is the great parade, but the burgher councillors objected to that design. They presented a memorial, recommending that the ground forming the parade should not be built upon, and that when needed an enlargement of the town should take place along

the sides of the Company's garden. Of this the council approved.

At the same time the first grant of ground was made where the village of Caledon now stands. The burgher Ferdinand Appel had twelve morgen of land given to him in freehold there, in order that he might plant a garden and build a house of accommodation for persons making use of the hot springs. These springs had already come to be regarded as efficacious for the cure of rheumatic affections of all kinds, and were often visited by people with those ailments.

On the 15th of March 1710 a young man named Jan de la Fontaine arrived in Table Bay as bookkeeper of the ship *Horstendaal*. The commissioner Van Hoorn took a liking to him, and gave him the appointment of master of the warehouses, thus introducing him to a career of official life in this colony which ended many years later in his occupying the post of governor.

On the 30th of April 1710 the secretary to the council of policy, Willem Helot by name, who had been sixteen years in service at the Cape, was by order of the directors raised to the rank of senior merchant and took over the duties of secunde, Mr. D'Ableing having been instructed to proceed to India to fill an office of greater importance. The late secunde left South Africa on the 10th of the following July.

On the 17th of December 1710, at ten o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the village of Stellenbosch. There was a high wind, and a slave who was carrying a lighted fagot allowed some sparks to be blown into the thatch with which the landdrost's office was covered. In a minute the roof was in flames. The fire spread to the adjoining buildings, which were all covered with thatch, and in a short time the church, the whole of the Company's property, and twelve dwelling houses were burned down. Fortunately the church books and district records were saved.

There was not so much attention paid now to the cultivation of trees as there had been in the time of the governors Van der Stel, still this useful work was not altogether neglected by the authorities. In the winter of 1709 a number of young oaks were sent to Stellenbosch to be planted along the streets. Some of those previously planted in the same places had been wantonly or thoughtlessly destroyed. In consequence, on the 8th of August of this year a placaat was issued, in which damaging trees on public property was prohibited under penalty of a sound flogging at the foot of the gallows, and a reward of £2 1*s.* 8*d.* was promised to any one bringing offenders to justice.

There was a regulation under which any one felling a tree on his own ground was to plant an oak in its stead, but it was generally neglected. The farmers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein assigned as a reason for not carrying it out that as they had only sixty morgen (51·4 hectares) of land they had not sufficient space, because trees in the neighbourhood of vineyards and cornfields attracted and harboured birds. The forests in the mountain kloofs near the Cape were by this time exhausted, but a commission which was sent to examine the land of Waveren reported that a considerable quantity of timber suitable for waggon making and house building was still to be found there.

On the 13th of April 1711 the council, presided over by the commissioner Pieter de Vos, admiral of a return fleet, decided to press upon the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein the necessity of planting trees along the roads and of selecting suitable places for laying out groves. A commission, consisting of the acting fiscal Willem van Putten and the master gardener Jan Hertog, was appointed to examine the mountainous country along the left bank of the river Zonderend, and report upon the forests there. The commission found a supply of timber sufficient for existing needs, which set the question at rest for a while.

In consequence of an attempt of the landdrost of Stellenbosch to press for the public service some waggons belonging to residents of the Cape peninsula, the burgher councillors appealed to the council of policy to define the bounds of that officer's jurisdiction, and on the 15th of December 1711 it was decided that he had no authority on the Cape side of the Mosselbank and Kuils rivers. Beyond those streams his jurisdiction extended over the minor officials, burghers, and slaves as far as Europeans were settled.

Governor Van Assenburgh was taken seriously ill early in the year 1711. He had never interfered with the pursuits of the farmers, and had given the colonists that protection to which they were entitled, so that he stood fairly well in their regard. He had not indeed mixed with them and interested himself in their personal affairs, as Simon van der Stel in his earlier years had done, so there was not that affection for him that there had once been for the other. He seldom left the castle. On new year's day and on his birthday it was the custom for the principal burghers with their wives to call at the castle between ten and eleven in the morning, and present their compliments. They were then invited to remain to dinner, and did not usually leave until nine in the evening. Also on the yearly muster of the militia of the Cape district, when the company of cavalry and two companies of infantry had gone through their exercises and been inspected, the officers were entertained at the castle. At these receptions the governor was very friendly, and he was at all times easy of access, but he did not court society. There was only one instance of departure from his usual habits, and that somewhat startled the steady burghers of the Cape. When the afternoon service was concluded on Sunday the 11th of November 1708, the governor invited the principal townspeople to the castle, and made an effort to entertain them with a fight between bulls and dogs.

When he was taken ill, the burghers suspected that he had been poisoned, and one writer of the period does not hesitate to affirm that the poison had been administered to him in a glass of wine when on a visit at Constantia. The dates of the visit and of his illness, however, overthrow this statement. He was confined to his room about eight months, and died on the afternoon of Sunday the 27th of December 1711, five days after he had completed his fifty-first year.

Next morning the council of policy met, when the secunde Willem Helot was elected to act as head of the government until the pleasure of the directors could be signified. The election was a matter of form, for there was no one else eligible. On the 2nd of January 1712 the body of the late governor was buried beneath the pavement of the church, with a great deal of state. His administration had not been an eventful one, and his name was soon forgotten.

Some years before this date immigration from Europe had practically ceased. Occasionally a family from abroad was added to the burgher population, but the increase of the colonists was now due chiefly to the excess of births over deaths and to the discharge of servants of the Company. Cattle farmers were pushing their way from the land of Waveren down the valley of the Breede river and from Hottentots-Holland eastward along the course of the Zonderend.

The town in Table Valley was growing also. It had not yet become the custom to call it Capetown, it being usually termed the Cape, or sometimes the town at the Cape. Official letters were addressed from and to the Castle of Good Hope. At the date of Governor Van Assenburgh's death the town contained about one hundred and seventy private houses, besides the buildings belonging to the Company.

In October 1712 a report reached the castle that four or five thousand Hottentots of the Great Namaqua tribe

had made an inroad upon the clans living along the Elephant river, and had threatened to plunder some graziers at Piketberg, who had in consequence been obliged to retire from their farms. The government thereupon instructed Jan Mulder, who was again landdrost of Stellenbosch, to call out twenty-five burghers from Drakenstein and twenty-five from Stellenbosch. The same number were called out in the Cape district, and with twenty-five soldiers were sent on to meet the country contingents at the farm of François du Toit. Lieutenant Slotsboo was in command of the expedition. His instructions were to endeavour to come to an amicable understanding with the Namaquas, if possible to induce them to return to their own country, and not to attack them unless they had done some harm to the burghers. The commando returned to the castle on the 22nd of November, and reported that there were no Namaquas at Piketberg and no burgher had been molested.

In 1713 a terrible calamity fell upon the country. In March of this year the small-pox made its first appearance in South Africa. It was introduced by means of some clothing belonging to ships' people who had been ill on the passage from India, but who had recovered before they reached Table Bay. This clothing was sent to be washed at the Company's slave lodge, and the women who handled it were the first to be smitten. The Company had at the time about five hundred and seventy slaves of both sexes and all ages, nearly two hundred of whom were carried off within the next six months.

From the slaves the disease spread to the Europeans and the Hottentots. In May and June there was hardly a family in the town that had not some one sick or dead. Traffic in the streets was suspended, and even the children ceased to play their usual games in the squares and open places. At last it was impossible to obtain nurses, though slave women were being paid at the rate of four

to five shillings a day. All the planks in the stores were used, and in July it became necessary to bury the dead without coffins.

For two months there was no meeting of the court of justice, for debts and quarrels were forgotten in presence of the terrible scourge. The minds of the people were so depressed that anything unusual inspired them with terror. Thus on the 10th of May two doves were observed to fall to the ground from the parapet of the governor's house in the castle, and after fluttering about a little were found to be dead, without any injury being perceptible. This was regarded by many as an omen of disaster. The very clouds and the darkness of winter storms seemed to be threatening death and woe. During that dreadful winter nearly one fourth of the European inhabitants of the town perished, and only when the hot weather set in did the plague cease.

The disease spread into the country, but there, though the death rate among the white people was very high, the proportion that perished was not so large as in the town. It was easier to keep from contact with sick persons. Some families living in secluded places were practically isolated, and the farmers in general avoided moving about.

The burgher rolls are not to be regarded in any year as more than approximately correct, but, in common with all other contemporary documents, they bear witness to the great loss of life. According to them, in 1712 the number of colonists—men, women, and children—was one thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine, and in 1716, three years after the cessation of the plague, notwithstanding the natural increase, only one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven. The records of the orphan chamber show that the board was perplexed with the administration of the large number of estates that fell under its management owing to the death of the proprietors, and in many instances had a difficulty in the division of

property, especially in cases where families had become wholly or nearly extinct.

Among the Hottentots the disease created the greatest havoc. Of the Europeans who were smitten, more recovered than died; but with the Hottentots, to be ill and to die were synonymous. The state of filth in which they lived caused the plague to spread among them with fearful rapidity. When the kraals were first infected, and the number of deaths became startling, the Hottentots of the Cape fled eastward across the mountains, declaring that the Europeans had bewitched them. But as soon as they got beyond the settlement they were attacked by tribes of their own race, and all who could not get back again were killed. The probable object of this slaughter was to prevent the spread of the disease, but if so, it failed. Then the wretched creatures sat down in despair, and made no attempt to help themselves. They did not even remove their dead from the huts. In Table Valley it became necessary to send a party of slaves to put the corpses under ground, as the air was becoming foul. Whole kraals disappeared, leaving not an individual alive.

The very names of many of the best-known tribes were blotted out by the fell disease. They no longer appear in the records as organised communities, with feuds and rivalries and internecine wars, but as the broken-spirited remnant of a race, all whose feelings of nationality and clanship had been crushed out by the great calamity. The farmers who had been accustomed to employ many hundreds of them in harvest time complained that none were now to be had. Strangers who had visited the colony before 1713, and who saw it afterwards, noticed that the Hottentot population had almost disappeared. From this date until the Bantu were reached by the expansion of the settlement, the only difficulty with the coloured inhabitants was occasioned by Bushmen. Owing to the isolation of these people, they escaped the disaster which overtook the higher races.

CHAPTER XL.

MAURITS PASQUES DE CHAVONNES, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 28TH MARCH 1714, DIED 8TH SEPTEMBER 1724.

UPON intelligence of the death of Governor Van Assenburgh reaching the Netherlands, the directors appointed as his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, a native of the Hague, who had commanded an infantry regiment in the army of the States, but had been thrown out of employment by the reduction of the troops after the peace of Utrecht. He had the rank, title, and salary of a councillor extraordinary of the Indies given to him. The new governor arrived at the Cape on the 24th of March 1714, and was formally installed on the 28th of the same month.

The first object to which Governor De Chavonnes turned his attention was an attempt to make the revenue of the colony more nearly meet the expenditure than had previously been the case. Though the returns were made out yearly to fractions of a farthing, it is impossible to say exactly what was the expenditure of the colony, as the accounts of the Cape were kept as of a branch business. Every penny received from every source was entered on one side, and every penny paid out, no matter for what purpose, was entered on the other.

Thus, in the charges against the Cape were included all sums paid for refreshment of the crews of ships, wages paid to sailors in such ships, the expenses of the hospital, and other items which should not fairly be placed against the colonial revenue. But these items cannot be wholly struck off. The hospital, for instance, afforded accommoda-

tion for the sick of the garrison, and thus a portion of its cost was a proper charge against the colony. Then again, sums paid in the Netherlands and in India for strictly colonial purposes do not appear in the accounts. The most that can be done is to state the expenditure approximately, and probably no two persons examining the records would do this in exactly the same figures.

The principal source of revenue was the money paid for the exclusive right to sell wines and spirituous liquors by retail, and this was determined by public auction on the last day of August. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century it averaged £3,167. Besides this, there were the tithes of grain, transfer dues on sales of ground, and profits on sales of goods. On an average, these together amounted at this date to £4,739 yearly. The colonial revenue was thus about £8,000 a year. In converting the money of that day into British coinage, the heavy gulden generally used in accounts transmitted to the Netherlands is valued at one shilling and eight pence, and the light gulden used in transactions in the colony and in India at sixteen pence and two-thirds of a penny. Before 1743 it is often doubtful which was meant. In that year an order was given that the heavy gulden should be exclusively used in accounts prepared for the directors.

The expenditure, after deducting all expenses connected with shipping, cannot be estimated at less than £14,500 a year. It was kept at the lowest possible sum by the payment of very small salaries and allowing privileges of different kinds to the officials, by permitting from one hundred and fifty to two hundred out of a garrison of about five hundred and fifty men to take temporary service with farmers, and by employing slave labour in building and gardening. The cost of transport, ammunition, building materials sent from the Netherlands, and various other items are not considered in this calculation, because it cannot be even approximately given.

There was thus a large excess of expenditure over revenue, though it is not possible to state the exact amount in figures. The directors instructed the governor to try to devise means of meeting it, in part if not wholly.

No revenue had yet been derived from leases of land used for cattle runs. After the 3rd of July 1714 a rental of twenty-five shillings for six months, or fifty shillings a year, was charged, in addition to the tithe of grain produced. Old residents in the land of Waveren and elsewhere were permitted, however, to take out freehold titles to small plots on application to the governor, in order to encourage them to improve the ground. All building sites given out in the town were to revert to the Company if houses were not put up on them within twelve months.

After the 20th of July 1714 it was required that stamps should be affixed to different kinds of documents to make them legal. These documents included deeds of transfer of land and slaves, wills, contracts of marriage, certificates of inheritance, licenses to trade, powers of attorney, and generally all notarial acts and papers passing through courts of law. The stamps required ranged in value from six pence to twelve shillings and six pence.

On the 12th of March 1715 a tax of four shillings and two pence was laid upon every legger of wine pressed in the colony. This article had not been subject to tithe or any tax whatever before this date.

The fundamental law of the colony was that of the Netherlands, or in other words the body of law of the Roman empire, with such alterations from the code of Justinian as had been made by the legislature of Holland and embodied in the commentaries of the foremost Dutch jurists. The forms of proceedings in the courts were identical with those of the fatherland. But the circumstances under which the East India Company took possession of distant parts of the globe were so different from any previous experience of the Dutch that numerous

laws and regulations varying from those of the Netherlands had been framed for its dependencies. These were termed the statutes of India. Some of them were not adapted for a European colony, and from their nature could only be applied to certain Asiatic communities; but it was doubtful to the high court of justice which of the general statutes, if any, were to be regarded as of force. The question was referred to the council of policy, and on the 12th of February 1715 it was decided that the statutes of India were to be strictly followed, except when they were modified by placaats issued by competent authority at the Cape. The question was not considered whether laws made in Holland after the formation of the colony in 1652, or only those prior to that date, were to be regarded as having force in South Africa.

Thus, everything provided for by local placaats was determined thereafter by the terms of those placaats, where they failed and the statutes of India made provision, those statutes were followed, and where neither local placaats nor statutes of India provided, the ordinary law of the Netherlands was observed. This seems clear enough, but in course of time so many placaats were issued, without copies being printed and preserved, that the law was involved in much uncertainty, and whenever a case was taken into court the burghers became apprehensive of some obsolete or forgotten proclamation being suddenly brought to light.

In 1716 the summary jurisdiction of the land-drost and heemraden was extended in civil cases to £10 8*s*. 4*d*.

In May 1714 the secunde Helot, who had recently been acting head of the government, was suspended for appropriating to his own use property belonging to the Company, and upon the circumstances being reported to the directors, the council was instructed to send him to the Netherlands, without rank or salary. Abraham Cranendonk, recently fiscal of the establishment on the Hoogly, who was named as his successor, arrived at the Cape and took over the duty on the 4th of March 1715.

For some time back the Bushmen had not been giving much trouble, but in 1715 their depredations were renewed. These people would not change their mode of living, and, as the game was being destroyed, a conflict between them and the farmers was inevitable. At that time no one questioned the right of civilised men to take possession of land occupied by such a race as the Bushmen, and to the present day no one has devised a plan by which this can be done without violence.

In August 1715 the wife of a Drakenstein farmer appeared at the castle and informed the governor that the Bushmen had driven off over seven hundred sheep belonging to her husband, after murdering the shepherd. Thereupon the governor gave a general permission in writing to the neighbours of the man who had been robbed to follow the plunderers and retake the spoil. A notification to this effect was also sent to the landdrost.

With this permission the first purely colonial commando took the field. It consisted of thirty mounted burghers, who chose as their commandant a farmer named Hermanus Potgieter. They did their utmost to trace the robbers, but without success.

The Bushmen then commenced plundering generally the farmers along the Berg river and in the land of Waveren. They murdered some herdsmen, set fire to several houses, and drove off a large number of cattle. It was feared that they would burn the ripening corn. Some of the most exposed farmers abandoned their homes, and a few families were quite ruined. Several commandos in succession were raised and sent to expel the marauders, the government supplying ammunition, but giving no other aid. The instructions under which the commandos took the field were emphatic that bloodshed was to be avoided if possible, and women and children were not to be molested, but this was a kind of warfare in which instructions were not always followed, and men's hearts were apt to become hardened.

It was easy to resolve to drive the marauders from a stated tract of country, but very difficult to carry the resolution into effect. The keen-sighted Bushman, when he observed the approach of an enemy, concealed himself and his family; and as soon as his pursuers retired, worn out in looking for him, his depredations were resumed. None of the commandos sent out in this year effected their object, though some of them believed they had done so until they learned that as soon as they were disbanded the marauders were busy again.

Early in 1716 one of the commandos lost a man killed with a poisoned arrow, and had another wounded. A sergeant and twenty soldiers were then directed to guard the most exposed positions, and a strong party of the Company's servants and burghers was sent with some arrack, tobacco, and beads to try to make peace. This party succeeded in obtaining a meeting with a company of Bushmen, and returned to the castle with a report that an agreement of friendship had been entered into. And it certainly was the case that robberies ceased for a time.

In August the newly-formed military posts were withdrawn at the request of the burghers, who had a lively dread of tyranny being established by means of troops. The old outposts at Waveren, Saldanha Bay, Groenekloof, and Klapmuts were still maintained; but there were never more than seven men at each.

Until January 1719 no fresh charge of depredations by Bushmen was made, and then the complaint came from another direction. Seven hundred head of cattle were driven away from Jacob van der Heiden's farm on the river Zonderend. The Bushmen asserted that this raid was in retaliation for injuries inflicted upon them by people who gave out that they were sent to barter cattle for the Company. The records do not supply sufficient evidence in this instance to enable it to be said whether they had, or had not, received such provocation as they

complained of. At Van der Heiden's request, permission was given for a commando to assemble; but the cattle could not be recovered.

At this time fugitive slaves were giving a great deal of trouble to the colonists. These wretched beings formed themselves into bands, and plundered the farmers whenever necessity impelled and opportunity offered. Though they usually selected a retreat in some place difficult of discovery and access, they were much more easily found than Bushmen.

A subject that occupied a good deal of attention during the whole of the eighteenth century was the relative rank of the different individuals in the community, and, as the church was the place where all met, the position which each should occupy in that building. The directors desired that the burghers should be as nearly as possible of the same station, but when civil and military offices of various kinds were created, some distinctions were inevitable. There was, however, a general feeling of respect for legitimate authority properly exercised, so that with the burgher population each one's place was recognised without much difficulty. In the country the landdrost ranked first, as the representative of the honourable Company. He had the front seat in the church, which was slightly elevated and distinguished by a canopy. Next to him in rank came the clergyman. The heemraden followed, and had a special seat in church just behind the landdrost. The elders and deacons had seats on each side of the pulpit, and the military officers had recognised places in the body of the building, according to their grade. The wives of all these notables sat on chairs placed in the order mentioned above, it being one of the duties of a church officer called the koster to see that the seats were in their proper positions.

Among the servants of the Company the struggle for place was constant. In the army and navy it was easy to define the grades, but outside of these branches of

the service complicated questions were constantly arising. There were the grades senior merchant, merchant, and junior merchant, yet these did not meet the difficulty. The following instance will show how important such matters were considered.

The supreme authorities having decided to erect additional fortifications in Table Valley, on the 20th of February 1715 the governor laid the foundation stone of a battery which he named Mauritius, near the sea shore at the foot of the Lion's rump. But the assembly of seventeen then thought that before proceeding further, plans and specifications should be drawn up by an engineer and submitted to them, and Mr. Pieter Gysbert Noodt, director of fortifications in Netherlands India, was instructed to visit the Cape for that purpose. He arrived on the 6th of May 1718 and remained until the 18th of April in the following year. He was a surly quarrelsome man, who would not so much as show the governor the plans he was making, though repeatedly requested to do so. He had not been here long when a quarrel arose between him and the secunde Abraham Cranendonk upon the question of precedence. They disputed as to which should receive the highest military salute, whose wife should occupy the foremost seat in church, whose carriage was to keep the crown of the street when they met, and other similar matters. They came before the council of policy, each with a long written statement of his claims. The council took the matter into serious consideration, and after some discussion decided in favour of Mr. Noodt.

On the 24th of June 1716 the directors submitted a series of questions, upon which they required the opinions of the members of the council of policy.

The principal queries were whether the country could maintain a larger number of colonists; whether it would not be more advantageous to employ European labourers than slaves; whether such articles as coffee, sugar, cotton, indigo, olive oil, tobacco, flax, silk, and hops could not be

produced, so as to enable a larger number of people to gain a living; and whether a direct tax could not be imposed on provisions supplied to foreign ships.

Each member of the council was required to take these questions into consideration and to bring up a report. Probably no subject of equal importance to South Africa has ever since engaged the attention of the authorities, for upon these reports was to depend whether the country should be occupied solely by Europeans, or whether there was to be a mixture of races in it. As yet slavery had not taken deep root, and could easily have been done away with. The number of slaves was small, and nearly five-sixths of them were adult males. Without further importations, the system would have rapidly perished.

It must ever be deplored that of the men who sat in the council in February 1717 there was but one who could look beyond the gains of the present hour. The governor, Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, the secunde, Abraham Cranendonk, the fiscal independent, Cornelis van Beaumont, and the junior members, J. Cruse, J. de la Fontaine, K. Slotsboo, and H. van der Meer, were all in favour of slave labour. They stated that a slave cost less than £3 a year for maintenance, whereas a white labourer would cost at least as much as a soldier, whose pay and rations amounted to more than £12 a year. The slave was tractable, whereas the European was prone to be rebellious. White men often became addicted to drunkenness, and none could be obtained who would be willing to perform the severer kinds of labour in this climate.

The commander of the garrison, Captain Dominique Pasques de Chavonnes, a brother of the governor, was alone in advocating the introduction of European workmen only. Slaves in this country, he observed, were like a malignant sore in the human frame. They kept the colonists in a state of unrest, and notwithstanding the

terrible punishments inflicted upon them, they were not deterred from running away and committing atrocious crimes. If the cost of purchasing them—about £4 each—bringing them to this country, providing for them, and guarding them, were taken into consideration, their labour would not be found much cheaper than that of white men, especially as they required supervision, and did neither so much nor such good work. On the other hand, Europeans would give security to the country, and would help to increase the revenue.

There is little doubt that if these views had been held by the other members of the council, and had been pressed upon the directors, the many evils which the introduction of negroes produced in South Africa would have been prevented. Nothing was said of the bearing of the question upon the African: it was almost a century too early in the world's history for his interest to be taken into consideration.

Whether coffee or the other plants named would thrive at the Cape was regarded as doubtful by all the members. Some of these plants, such as the olive and indigo, had already been fruitlessly experimented with. In any case, men having special knowledge would be needed to test them, for no one in the colony understood their cultivation. Whether a larger number of Europeans could exist here without being a burden upon the Company or the poor funds would depend upon the result of such experiments.

All were agreed that it would not be advisable to levy a direct tax upon provisions supplied to foreigners, as it would not amount to much, and might drive away strangers who brought money into the country. None of the members thought that any profit could be made from an alleged discovery of coal on Pierre Rousseau's farm at French Hoek. Nor were any of them of opinion that manufactures could be introduced. Isaac Taillefer, it was stated, had made good hats from Cape wool; but when

he died that industry ceased. Others had knitted socks and gloves of woollen yarn made by themselves, but that also had been discontinued.

Upon receipt of these reports, the directors resolved, 17th of April 1718, that experiments should be repeated with all diligence in the cultivation of tobacco, silk, indigo, and olives; and that a person having special knowledge of the manner of production of each should be sent out to superintend the work.

Sheep's wool was not referred to, as all attempts to encourage the growth of a marketable article had hitherto failed. In 1714 two hundred and ninety-four kilogrammes were sent to Europe, but the quality was so bad that it did not produce at public sale as much as it had cost. Another experiment was made in 1716, when thirteen hundred and sixty kilogrammes were purchased at fifteen pence a kilogramme and sent to Amsterdam. The quality of this shipment was likewise so inferior that it was unsaleable for spinning purposes. It was then resolved to let this industry remain in abeyance until another breed of animals could be introduced, and as the greatest difficulty was now being experienced in getting as much meat as was needed, wool, which was of less importance, was not spoken of.

In 1719 a large quantity of indigo seed was sent from Batavia with a man who understood its cultivation, and for many years experiments were made with it. There was no difficulty in getting the plant to grow well in sheltered positions and in rich soil; but it was found that it would not answer as a general crop.

Silkworm eggs from Persia and Bengal were sent at the same time, but were found to be bad on their arrival. The white mulberry trees which were planted throve as well as could be desired. The chief experiment in the production of silk was not, however, made until a few years later, and will be noticed in another chapter.

A man who had large experience in the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco, Cornelis Hendriks by name, was

sent from Amsterdam in 1719. He made a tour through the colony, and upon his return to the castle pronounced very unfavourably upon the appearance of the soil. The most suitable place for an experiment that he had found was a plot of land about two morgen in extent, adjoining Rustenburg at Rondebosch. There and in the Company's garden in Table Valley a large number of tobacco plants were set out by slaves under direction of the manager. At first they throve well, but after a time some were destroyed by violent winds, and others by the heat of the sun. The seed had been carefully selected, but the leaves which reached maturity were so bad in flavour that Hendriks, who attributed the quality to the soil, despaired of success, and advised that the experiment be given up. The members of the council of policy were of the same opinion, and in 1722 further trial was abandoned.

The experiments with the olive had the same result as on every previous occasion. The trees grew most luxuriantly, but many of them suddenly died without any accountable cause. From others the fruit dropped when still young, and the few olives that ripened in exceptionally good seasons were of very inferior quality.

The directors were of opinion that if the flavour of Cape wine were improved, a large market could be found both in Europe and in India, to the advantage of the colonists as well as of the Company. They were then paying £6 a legger of five hundred and seventy-six litres for ordinary wine for the use of the fleets, and £8 for old wine for use in the hospital. On the 27th of June 1719 they wrote for some selected samples, and with the next return fleet six half aams of seventy-two litres each were sent. When it reached Amsterdam it was found unfit for use. It was the same with the six half aams sent to Batavia. The directors supposed that the reason might be the small size of the casks, and therefore directed another trial to be made with half leggers instead of half aams. In 1722 ten half leggers were sent to Amsterdam and Middelburg,

but the result was the same as before. An experiment was then made with bottles, a thousand of which were sent out to be filled with wine and returned. It succeeded no better than the others.

The wine made at Constantia had, however, a good reputation in Europe. Jan Colyn, the owner of Little Constantia at that time, produced yearly from ten to twelve leggers of red wine, for which he received £16 13*s.* 4*d.* a legger, and about twenty leggers of white wine, which he sold readily at £10 8*s.* 4*d.*

In 1714 a fatal cattle disease, unknown before, made its appearance in the settlement, and attacked both oxen and sheep. By 1718 it was so difficult to obtain animals for slaughter that when the contract to supply the Company with meat was offered for sale by auction there was not a single bidder. The sheep in possession of the burghers had decreased by nearly fifty-six thousand. It was necessary to make a private arrangement with Jacob van der Heiden, by which he undertook to supply meat at six pence half penny a kilogramme and live sheep at twelve shillings and six pence each. On the 2nd of July 1720 the sale of live animals to foreigners was prohibited by placaat, and thenceforth no sheep were sent on board the Company's ships. Meat had now risen to seven pence a kilogramme.

English captains had been in the habit of purchasing cattle in considerable numbers, slaughtering them, and salting the meat. They had also generally taken away a number of sheep. Upon the prohibition being applied to them, they made loud complaints in Europe, and the directors issued instructions that they should be treated as well as possible.

After a time Van der Heiden informed the council that he could not continue to supply meat unless permission was given him to procure cattle from Hottentots at a distance. Leave was therefore granted, but in February 1723 it was withdrawn upon the Drakenstein consistory

complaining that the trading parties had used violence towards the Hottentots, and had even murdered some individuals. The matter was investigated by the fiscal and the landdrost, but sufficient evidence could not be obtained to secure the conviction of the offenders, though there was no doubt that very atrocious crimes had been committed by them.

The price of sheep sold at public auction at this time was from 11*s.* 1*d.* to 13*s.* 11*d.* taking one with another in a flock, and of draught oxen £4 3*s.* 4*d.* each. The scarcity was increased by the tongue and hoof sickness making its first appearance in 1723.

By order of the directors, a placaat was then issued, 24th of February 1723, prohibiting the sale of fresh meat or vegetables to strangers, under penalty of deportation to Europe and a fine of nearly £70. This was construed to mean that permission must first be obtained from the council, for upon English captains requesting to be allowed to purchase supplies of fresh provisions for their sick, leave was invariably granted. On the 6th of April of the same year another placaat was issued requiring the farmers to provide the Company with meat at fourpence and two-fifths of a penny a kilogramme and sheep at ten shillings each, under penalty of a tithe of all animals reared being required. But legislation such as this was fruitless.

An attempt had previously been made to procure cattle from the Hottentots at a distance, and even from the Xosas, by licensing a certain burgher to carry on the trade under surveillance; but the great distance caused the scheme to fail. Ensign Rhenius was then sent with a trading party to the Namaquas. In November 1724 he returned unsuccessful. He reported that the Namaqua tribe had been fearfully reduced in number by a disease resembling small-pox, that the Bushmen had taken advantage of their weakness to rob them of most of their cattle, and that in reckless despair they had slaughtered and consumed the remainder.

The Company was then compelled to submit to circumstances, and to pay the high prices determined by public tender.

The troubles of the community were increased by the horse sickness making its appearance in a very severe form early in 1719. Between sixteen and seventeen hundred animals had perished when in July there were some frosty nights, and the disease disappeared. There is no mention of it in the records before that date, and it is described as a new plague. It has never left South Africa since.

On the 11th of April 1713 the peace of Utrecht concluded a war with France of twelve years' duration. The Company then resolved to enlarge its commerce, and a number of ships of the first class, carrying from two hundred and eighty to three hundred and fifty men each, were speedily built. After 1715 the number of persons visiting the Cape every year was much greater than before. During the fifteen years from 1st January 1700 to 31st December 1714 one thousand and seven ships put into Table Bay, or on an average sixty-seven yearly. Of these, six hundred and eighty-three were Dutch, two hundred and eighty English, thirty-six Danish, six French, and two Portuguese. During the ten years from 1st January 1715 to 31st December 1724 the number that called was eight hundred and seventy-one, or on an average eighty-seven yearly. Of these, six hundred and forty-five were Dutch, one hundred and ninety-two English, seventeen French, ten Danish, four Portuguese, and three Flemish.

The Company's ships assembled in Table Bay to return to Europe in a fleet. The slowest sailers were despatched first from Batavia, and usually arrived here in January. Then came the Ceylon squadron, and last the late ships from Batavia. They endeavoured to leave Table Bay about the end of March or beginning of April, and it must have been something worth seeing when twenty to thirty large ships set their sails and stood away together.

This was called the summer fleet, and it usually carried to Europe merchandise which had cost from five to seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. Sometimes a number of English vessels sailed in its company. The winter fleet was much smaller, often consisting of only three or four ships. At a date somewhat later than the period to which we have now arrived, it became usual for the summer ships also to sail in small squadrons, as they could be got ready.

The English government had protested against the assistance formerly given to private traders at the Cape, and an arrangement had been made between the assembly of seventeen and the directors of the English Company that neither would permit interlopers to obtain anything whatever in their ports. In consequence, when an English vessel arrived, unless her master could produce a royal commission or proper credentials from the East India Company, she was warned to make sail at once, and no intercourse was allowed with the shore. The Flemish ships which put in for supplies were treated in the same manner.

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century there were some notable shipwrecks on the South African coast.

On the 16th of February 1713 the *Bennebroek*, homeward bound from Ceylon, after being disabled in a storm ran ashore in broad daylight on the coast of Natal, at some point which was never exactly ascertained. She commenced to break up immediately. Fifty-seven Europeans and twenty Malabar slaves intended for the Cape got to land on pieces of the wreck, the remainder of the crew perished. Those who were saved collected some food which washed up, and then set out to travel to the Cape. But they could not cross a deep river which was in their way, and after a few days some of them turned back to the neighbourhood of the wreck. There they remained until June, subsisting upon milk, meat, and

millet which they obtained from the Bantu residents for pieces of iron and copper. At last the metal in the wreckage was exhausted, and they then made another attempt to reach the Cape by going far inland to avoid the lower courses of the rivers. But they did not succeed, and after wandering about for some weeks, hunger and fatigue compelled the Europeans who still survived—seven in number—to take refuge with a Bantu tribe, who treated them with great kindness. Here they found a Frenchman who had been wrecked thirty years before.

The people with whom they thenceforth lived were carrying on perpetual war with Bushmen. Their residence was near the coast, on the bank of a river with a navigable mouth. The food of the tribe consisted chiefly of milk, varieties of pumpkin, and bread made by rubbing soaked millet between stones, then mixing the pulp with water, and baking it in ashes.

Of those who did not turn back to the wreck, all perished except one Malabar slave. He pushed on westward for a whole year, overcoming every difficulty in his way. At length a burgher found him near the mouth of the Breede river, and sent him on to the castle, which he reached on the 26th of February 1714.

Six months later, on the 4th of September, a decked boat twenty-eight feet or 8·54 metres long by nine feet or 2·74 metres beam arrived in Table Bay under English colours. Her master reported that she had been built in England purposely for trading on the south-eastern coast of Africa, and had been taken to Delagoa Bay in pieces in a vessel named the *Clapham Galley*. She had been put together there, had since been trading on the coast, and had now come to Table Bay according to arrangement to wait for the return of the *Clapham Galley* from India. She had entered a river, the name of which is not given, and had there found the seven surviving sailors of the *Bennebroek*, four of whom she brought to the Cape. The most interesting part of the narrative of the master of the boat is that at various places at

which he had touched below Delagoa Bay he had obtained a large quantity of ivory in exchange for beads and copper rings that had been expressly manufactured in England for trade with the Bantu.

In November the galiot *Postlooper* was sent to search along the coast of Natal for the wreck of the *Bennebroek*, and if possible to recover her cannon and anchors as well as the three surviving sailors; but after an absence of nearly six months she returned with a report that neither men nor wreck could be found.

The year 1722 was the most disastrous one yet known for the Company's fleets in these seas. On the 17th of January the richly-laden ships *Sampson* and *Amstelveen*, belonging to a large return fleet, encountered a great gale off the southern coast, and went down in the open ocean. Two men belonging to the first and one belonging to the last were found by other ships of the fleet some hours later floating on pieces of wreckage. The remainder of their crews perished.

On Sunday the 14th of June a gale from the north-west set into Table Bay. There were lying at anchor, belonging to the Company, two second class outward bound ships, the *Standvastigheid* and *Rotterdam*, together carrying four hundred and fifty-three men, two third class outward bound ships, the *Zoetigheid* and *Lakeman*, together carrying two hundred and eighty-three men, a small outward bound vessel, the *Schotsche Lorrendraayer*, carrying fifty-two men, the packet-boat *Gouda*, ready to sail to Delagoa Bay with supplies, and the brigantine *Amy*, which had been in use at the Cape ever since her seizure in Saldanha Bay in 1693. There were also lying in the bay three English Indiamen, the *Nightingale*, bound to Madras, with a crew of one hundred and forty men, and the *Addison* and *Chandos*, with crews respectively of eighty and seventy men, homeward bound from Bengal. The last named had put in a fort-night before in distress, having been dismasted in a gale at sea.

All that day the danger to the shipping was great, but no accident worse than parting cables and swamping boats occurred. On Monday the gale lulled, but during the night the wind shifted to north-north-west, and on Tuesday morning the bay seemed to be covered with breakers. Still up to dusk the ships held to their anchors.

As darkness set in the gale increased. At seven o'clock minute guns were heard between the gusts, and the firing continued until midnight. The sea was breaking on the beach with such violence that it was dangerous to pass along the road between the castle and the shore.

At dawn in the morning of the 17th, it was seen that not a single vessel was afloat in the bay. The *Amy* was under the castle, and had broken up, but her crew had got safely ashore. The *Chandos* was next, close to the castle. She had partly broken up, but only two of her crew had been drowned.* Then came fragments of the *Zoetigheid*, nearly half of whose crew had perished. The *Lakeman* was high on the land a little farther on, with only one man missing. Just beyond were the crushed fragments of the *Standvastigheid*, *Rotterdam*, and *Schotsche Lorrendraayer*, all together, and of their crews only forty-five men were living. The *Gouda* and the *Nightingale* were some distance off, both high on the land and not much broken. The *Nightingale* had lost one man, the other none. The *Addison* had struck in the mouth of Salt River, and had overturned and broken up. Only ten of her crew had got to land. In all six hundred and sixty men perished in that dreadful gale, and property valued at nearly a quarter of a million sterling was lost.

On the 20th of November of this disastrous year the *Schoonberg*, homeward bound with a valuable cargo, was run ashore near Cape Agulhas in broad daylight and in

* In the *Chandos* was a Portuguese boy, Ignatius Ferreira, who remained in South Africa, and was the ancestor of the present large family of that name.

fine weather, through the culpable negligence of her officers. The ship broke up, but all on board got safely to shore.

The next wreck that occurred on the coast was on the 7th of November 1723, when a little vessel named the *Meteren*, which was on her passage out to be employed as a packet between the Cape and Delagoa Bay, was lost on the coast a little to the north of the mouth of the Elephant river. She had left Texel with a crew of twenty-nine souls. Scurvy made its appearance, and six died on the passage; while of the others, only ten were at length able to work. In a calm her anchor was dropped close to the coast, but a swell set in, when she dragged, and was cast ashore a complete wreck. Five men were drowned. The remaining eighteen got to land, where nine of them, who could walk, wandered about for twenty-five days before they were found. The others were believed to have died of want.

In the church, matters had assumed a very satisfactory aspect. The reverend Mr. D'Ailly remained as first or chief minister of the Cape. In 1714 a high school was established in Capetown, when the reverend Lambertus Slicher, of Middelburg, who had been six years chaplain of the garrison at Lillo, but had then of his own accord resigned and engaged as a midshipman in the ship *'t Vaderland Getrouw*, upon the arrival of that vessel in Table Bay was found anxious to abandon his new calling, and was appointed rector by the council of policy. In this school instruction was given in the Latin and Dutch languages, and pupils from any part of the colony were taken into the rector's house as boarders. But it received such scanty support from the burghers that after being bolstered up by the government for some years it seemed a waste of energy for an educated man to devote his whole time to it. Mr. Slicher then, at the request of the council of policy and with the consent of the directors, began to assist in the church. His first service was held on the 15th of June 1721. He still continued to perform

the duty of rector of the school, though in February 1723 he was formally inducted as second clergyman of the Cape congregation. In 1720 some persons subscribed the necessary funds for the purchase of an organ for use in the church.

The reverend Petrus van Aken, who had been appointed by the directors clergyman of Drakenstein, arrived in August 1714, and took over the duty at once. In 1717 a commencement was made with building a church at the Paarl for the Drakenstein congregation. The funds were derived from a legacy of £208 6*s.* 8*d.* bequeathed for the purpose by Henning Huising, £314 8*s.* 6*d.* left with the government here for charitable purposes by individuals in the fleet under the governor-general Van Hoorn, £698 12*s.* 2*d.* lent by the consistory of the Cape, and £715 12*s.* 6*d.* raised partly by special collections and partly by making use of the poor fund. The building was completed in 1720. When Paul Roux died, the consistory requested the council of policy to appoint another French sick-comforter in his stead, as there were still some twenty-five or twenty-six old people living who did not understand Dutch. The council, 23rd of February 1723, declined to do so until the pleasure of the directors could be made known, and their decision was unfavourable.

At Stellenbosch, where the reverend Mr. Bek was clergyman, a commencement was also made in 1717 with building a church in place of the one that had been destroyed by fire. The cost was borne by applying the poor fund, by special collections, a loan from the Cape consistory which had then over £9,300 to the good, and by a lottery for which permission was obtained from the directors.

On the 8th of October 1721 Abraham Cranendonk died, when Jan de la Fontaine, who had been working his way upward during the eleven years of his residence in South Africa, was chosen by the council of policy to act as secunde until the pleasure of the directors could be

known. In 1724 the appointment was confirmed by the assembly of seventeen.

On the 14th of June 1724 the fiscal independent, Cornelis van Beaumont, died. He had held office since March 1713. The council selected Adriaan van Kervel, who had been sixteen years in service at the Cape, to act until a new appointment could be made by the directors. He also was confirmed in his office.

Governor De Chavonnes managed to preserve the good will both of the directors and the colonists. He embarked in no costly undertakings, did his utmost to keep down expense, and preserved concord in the settlement. He was a quiet, religious man, who might have taken for motto a verse which closes the journal for one of the years when he was at the head of affairs:—

> "Geluckigh is hy die syn tyd
> In stille rust en weldoen slyt,
> Die al hetgeen den Hemel geeft
> Nooyt in syn hert mispreesen heeft."

The directors were so well satisfied with his administration that they raised him to the rank of ordinary councillor of India, a dignity enjoyed by none of his predecessors. The letter containing the announcement of his elevation to that dignity reached the Cape on the 1st of June 1721.

The governor, who had just passed his seventieth year, was suddenly taken ill on the 7th of September 1724, and died early on the following morning. A few hours later the council of policy met and decided that Jan de la Fontaine should act as head of the government until an appointment could be made by the assembly of seventeen. His nomination as secunde had not yet been confirmed by the directors, and he was only in rank a merchant; but there was no other officer at the Cape in a better position. Within a few months despatches were received in which he was promoted to be a senior merchant, and was approved of as secunde.

On the 14th of September the body of the late governor was buried under the pavement of the church, with all the state that was possible, nearly the whole of the colonists of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein as well as those of the Cape district attending the funeral. His widow and daughters returned to Europe with the next fleet from India.

A complete account of the seasons is given in the harvest returns preserved in the records of the eighteenth century, though the rainfall was not measured. From 1700 to 1704 the crops were poor, owing to insufficient rain. In 1705 a series of good seasons set in, and it became possible to send a considerable quantity of wheat to Batavia. From 1706 to 1711, both years included, the average export was rather over four thousand muids. The Company paid a little less than twelve shillings a muid for it at the magazines. Rye, barley, beans, and peas were also grown in quantities sufficient to supply the wants of the shipping and of the Indian government. There was, however, a very limited market for these products in India. In 1708 the quantity of rye and beans grown was in excess of the demand, and a notice was issued discouraging their cultivation and stating that the Company would not purchase any more of either.

The crop of 1710-11 was a poor one. There was a quantity of grain in store, however, which enabled the government to keep up the supply to Batavia. But in the two following seasons also insufficient rain fell, and the yield of the harvest was so small that only one thousand and twenty muids in 1712 and nineteen hundred and fifty-six muids in 1713 could be exported. In 1713 the fall of rain was ample, but the small-pox prevented extensive cultivation. The returns for seed sown were, however, exceptionally large, and in 1714 the quantity of wheat exported amounted to four thousand three hundred and seventy-five muids.

The crops of 1714 to 1716 were so good that fifteen thousand four hundred muids of wheat were sent to Batavia, or more than five thousand muids on an average yearly. But in the Company's possessions in India the demand for wheat was limited, and it could be obtained elsewhere at a lower rate than was paid at the Cape. The governor-general and council of India were of opinion that their requirements could be supplied from Bengal and Surat to greater advantage. They were satisfied with the quality of South African wheat; but it was too dear, and the quantity produced fluctuated so greatly from season to season that a constant supply could not be depended upon. They proposed to allow the Cape farmers to send it to any part of India, and sell it there at whatever price could be obtained. But to this the burghers objected, as they asserted that they were not in a position to carry on a trade of this kind, and could not afford to wait long after harvest without any return. The colony would be ruined if the Company ceased to purchase their grain.

The directors decided that it would be better to support the burghers than natives of Hindostan, but the price of wheat was reduced to ten shillings and eight pence a muid. As it was asserted that they must purchase all that was grown, or ruin would follow, they wrote that no more ground was to be given out for the production of wheat and wine, without their approval being obtained in each instance. To encourage the colonists to grow other produce, they gave directions that ships from India were to be supplied at the Cape with peas, beans, and husked barley sufficient for the passage home, though peas were then bringing the high price of twenty-nine shillings, and beans twenty-five shillings a muid.

This arrangement had hardly been made when a series of dry seasons set in. In 1718 the harvest was poor, but a small quantity of wheat was exported. It was the same in 1719. In 1720 less than a hundred muids were sent

out of the country. In 1721 it was not possible to supply the ships with beans, peas, and barley, and rice was served out to the garrison instead of bread; but fifty-one muids of wheat were sent to Batavia to keep up the name of exportation. In the winter of 1721 the seasons changed for the better. In 1722 nearly three thousand five hundred muids of wheat were exported, followed in 1723 by over four thousand, and in 1724 and 1725 by over five thousand muids.

The principal persons who settled in South Africa during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and whose descendants are still in the country, were

Gerrit van Aarde, before 1714,
Christiaan Ackerman, 1720,
Marthinus Ackerman, before 1713,
Adam Albertyn, before 1723,
Casper Hendrik Badenhorst, before 1713,
Jan Izaak van den Bank, 1713,
Jan Barnard, before 1713,
Jan Zacharias Beck, before 1722,
Matthys Andries de Beer, before 1705,
Andries Bester, 1712,
Jan Beukes, before 1705,
Jan Frederik Bierman, before 1725,
Bernardus van Billion, before 1724,
Jan Blankenberg, before 1706,
Jan Blignaut, 1723,
Jan Pieter Blom, before 1724,
Pieter Boeiens, before 1717,
Hermanus Lambertus Bosman, 1707,
Robert Brand, before 1719,
Jan Lodewyk Bouwer, 1724,
Pieter van Breda, 1719,
Steven Gauche, before 1718,
Christiaan Gobrecht, before 1722,
Jan Bronkhorst, before 1718,
Andries Bruyns, before 1714,
David du Buisson, before 1708,
Carel Diederik Buitendag, before 1722,
Barend Buys, 1715,
Jan Hermanus Carstens, before 1711,
Josué Cellier, 1700,
Klaas Claasen, 1720,
Jacob Coetzer, before 1716,
Hermanus Combrink, before 1720,
Jacques Delport, 1701,
Willem Dempers, 1712,
Jean Durand, before 1701,
Daniel Duuring, before 1725,
Jan van Ellewee, before 1718,
Albert Gerritse van Emmenes, before 1704,
Jan Engelbrecht, 1717,
Antoine Alexander Faure, 1714,
Ignatius Ferreira, 1722,
Thomas Ferreyn, before 1716,
Anthonie Fick, before 1711,
Jan Franke, before 1713,
Jan Melchior Frick, 1721
Jan van Locherenberg, 1717,
Jan Lourens, before 1705,

Otto Ernst van Graan, before 1714,
Jan Grobbelaar, before 1715,
Andries Grové, 1719,
Frans Haarhof, 1719,
Jurgen Hanekom, before 1714,
Pieter Willem van Heerden, before 1708,
Pieter van den Heever, before 1726,
Johan Ernst Heger, 1720,
Jacobus Heuning, before 1714,
Nicolaas Heyning, 1709,
Johan Andries Holtshausen, 1717,
Jan Hoppe, before 1715,
Jan Andries Horak, 1718,
Jan Human, before 1711,
Adriaan van Jaarsveld, before 1711,
Pieter Christiaan de Jager, before 1707,
Daniel Godfried Karnspek, 1721,
Pieter Kemp, before 1713,
Paul Keyser, 1707,
Hendrik Frederik Klopper, before 1714,
Servaas de Kock, 1707,
Jochem Koekemoer, before 1718,
Albertus Bartholomeus Koopman, before 1709,
Hermanus Kriel, 1719,
Willem Adolph Krige, 1721,
Jacob Kruger, 1713,
Daniel Krynauw, before 1711,
Hans Kuun, before 1715,
Jacobus van Laar, before 1713,
Amos Lambrechts, 1717,
. . Langeveld, before 1724,
Michiel Ley, before 1703,
Christiaan Liebenberg, 1715,
Gerrit van der Linde, 1714,
Barend Lindeque, before 1724,
Christiaan Maasdorp, before 1701,
Ignace Maré, before 1708,
Jan Maritz, 1718,
Dirk Marx, 1721,
Jan Hendrik Meintjes, before 1709,
Andries Mellet, before 1725,
Hans Willem Minnie, before 1716,
Andries Muller, before 1718,
Jan Hendrik Munnik, before 1714,
Jacob Naude, 1720,
Frans van der Nest, before 1718,
Adriaan de Nicker, 1711,
Johan Niemand, before 1702,
Izaak Nieuwoudt, before 1718,
Jan Oberholster, before 1706,
Willem Odendaal, before 1711,
Michiel Otto, 1714,
Abraham Peltzer, before 1718,
Barend Pieterse, before 1715,
Hendrik du Plooy, before 1714,
Simon du Plooy, before 1716,
Marthinus Prins, 1715,
Jasper Raats, before 1714,
Christiaan Rabe, 1723,
Jurgen Radyn, 1716,
Jacob van Reenen, 1721,
Nicolaas van Rensburg, before 1708,
Jan Roos, before 1714,
Cornelis van Rooyen, 1713,
Hercules Sandenbergh, 1714,
Jan Christoffel Schabort, before 1724,
Jan van Schoor, 1719,
Harmen Barend van der Schyff, before 1714,
Erasmus Smit, 1717,
Dirk Smith, before 1711,
Melt van der Spuy, before 1716,
Jan Steenkamp, before 1714,
Godfried Stolts, 1712,

Georg Frederik Strauss, 1723,
Willem van Taak, before 1715,
Andries van Tonderen, before 1703,

Jan Andries Truter, 1722,
Cornelis Uys, before 1704,
Gerrit Augustinus Vermaak, before 1713,
Arnoldus Vlok, before 1711,
Anthonie Vlotman, before 1701,
Jan Vorster, 1717,
Wouter de Vos, before 1717,
Hendrik de Vries, 1709,
Willem van der Vyver, 1714,
Jan de Waal, 1715,
Samuel Walters, before 1711,
Hendrik van der Wat, before 1717,
Nicolaas van Wielligh, before 1710,
Benjamin Wiese, before 1713,
Christoffel de Wit, before 1718,
Jan de Wit, or John White, before 1713,
Pieter Wium, before 1724,
Pieter Zaaiman, 1709.

In the records many more names than those here given are found, but they are of individuals who did not remain long in South Africa. The law of survival of the fittest was here in full operation, for those who were not adapted to become useful colonists were speedily obliged to return into the Company's service. The men might indeed be said to have been discharged on probation, and, in addition to this process of selection, a wastrel was very unlikely to obtain a wife among the farmers' daughters, so that the permanent colonists were a picked body of steady and well conducted men.

CHAPTER XLI.

OCCUPATION OF DELAGOA BAY BY THE DUTCH.

ABOUT the commencement of the eighteenth century—the exact date cannot be given—the Portuguese ceased sending vessels from Mozambique to trade at Delagoa Bay. Owing to the occasional intrusion of English adventurers they had found that very little profit was to be made there, and the port was frequented by pirates, whose visits caused it to be regarded as a dangerous locality. The last vessel sent from Mozambique had been taken and destroyed by these rovers of the sea. She had a crew of blacks, with only a European master and a book-keeper, and was lying at anchor off Shefina Island, on which was the depôt for goods and the principal residence of the visitors while they remained in the bay. A ship flying the white flag of France sailed in and dropped anchor close by, and the two white men, who did not suspect the real character of the stranger, very imprudently went on board her. They were not allowed to leave, so during the night the blacks in the trader became alarmed, and thought it well to have their fire-arms ready and to make preparation for hasty flight, if that should be necessary.

At daybreak next morning the pirate got out three boats to seize the Portuguese vessel, and in one of them sent the captive book-keeper in order to deceive those on board. As the boats approached, the prisoner, who must have been a man of the highest fortitude, shouted to the blacks to defend themselves, and they, after firing at the rowers, quickly hoisted sail and tried to escape.

The little vessel, however, ran aground, but the crew got to land, and were sheltered by the people with whom they had been trading. The pirates then took everything of value out of the prize, and set fire to the empty hull, which was useless to them.

Sofala was the farthest station south permanently occupied by the Portuguese, but occasionally a trading vessel was sent from Mozambique to Inhambane, where she remained five or six months. Some Mohamedans of mixed Arab and Bantu blood who had their home at that place then went about the country collecting ivory and wax, and occasionally travelled for that purpose as far south as the Tembe river. Whatever they could procure in exchange for the merchandise they took with them was carried by their black attendants to Inhambane, to be conveyed by sea to Mozambique; but the whole quantity was trifling.

In 1720 the directors of the Dutch East India Company, incited by a vague belief that had by some means arisen of the existence of valuable gold mines in the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay, and ignoring the right of the Portuguese to a place where they had never exercised any kind of jurisdiction, that had never been occupied by them except as a temporary trading station, and was no longer frequented even for that purpose, resolved to form a commercial establishment there, for which purpose an expedition was at once fitted out.* It was intended that the station should be a dependency of the Cape government, just as Mauritius had been. Thus important cases were to be sent for trial to the Cape, and in all cases except the most trivial there was

* The manuscript records of the Dutch settlement at Delagoa Bay are much more complete in the archives at the Hague than in those at Capetown. At the Hague they are bound in seven large volumes, and comprise letters, reports, instructions, judicial proceedings, a continuous journal with daily entries of occurrences, etc. There are also several plans of the fort Lagoa and of Fort Lydzaamheid, which was built at a later date.

to be a right of appeal to the high court of justice at the castle of Good Hope.

Towards the close of the year the advance party sent from the Netherlands to form the station, consisting of forty-four soldiers, as many sailors, and a few mechanics, with the officers one hundred and thirteen souls in all, arrived in Table Bay in two small vessels, the *Kaap* and *Gouda*. The officer who had been appointed head of the expedition died soon after reaching South Africa, when the council of policy selected a clerk on the Cape establishment, Willem van Taak by name, as his successor. A council was appointed to assist him, and a petty court of justice was constituted.

On the 14th of February 1721 the expedition, accompanied by a small vessel named the *Zeelandia*, sailed from Table Bay, and on the 29th of March reached its destination. The Bantu whose kraal was near the mouth of the Espirito Santo were found to be friendly, that is, they were very glad to welcome Europeans who would give them protection against people of their own race with whom they were at enmity. That the Europeans themselves might in course of time become domineering and unpleasant neighbours was not taken into consideration by them. They were under a chief named Maphumbo, who was a vassal of another named Mateke, though he seemed to be the more powerful of the two.

These people and a number of other little communities living on the shores of Delagoa Bay and in its vicinity belonged to the Batonga branch of the Bantu family, and were closely related to tribes on the banks of the Zambesi, from whom some of them had only recently separated, though others had probably migrated southward a little more than two centuries earlier. Before they left their north-western home all these communities had formed a single tribe, which had gradually broken into fragments independent of each other, and some of which were usually at war with others. Already a mixture of blood with

different sections of Bantu, caused by interminable wars and migrations, was taking place, though it was far from being as extensive as it is at the present day. Unfortunately no trouble was taken by the Dutch officers to collect and place on record an account of the past history of these people, and it is from other sources that even the little information given here has been obtained. Their condition at the time they were first met with was, however, minutely described by their new neighbours, who pictured them just as the ordinary Bantu of our day when unchanged by European influence.

Among the people under Maphumbo was an elderly black man who was born and brought up at Mozambique. He spoke the Portuguese language fluently, and was at once engaged as an interpreter. This man stated that in his early days he had frequently come from Mozambique in the trading vessel, and it was on his seventh visit, about twenty years before, that he escaped from the pirates. Since that time he had lived at the bay, and had not seen any Portuguese, as no one of that nation had visited the place during those years. He pointed out where the huts in which they had resided formerly stood, but as these had been made of reeds, no vestiges of them were left. The site was on Shefina Island, which the Dutch afterwards called on that account the Portuguese possession. The interpreter stated also that during the period of their stay, which was often six or seven months, the Portuguese had formed little stations along the Manisa river, but never at any great distance from its mouth.

The country as far as it was known to the inhabitants around the bay was occupied by little communities, which were almost constantly at feud with each other. Farther to the south the Bantu have traditions of a short time of general peace, just before the murderous devastations of Tshaka, but wherever and whenever Europeans have come in contact with these people they have been found in a state of war.

Maphumbo readily gave the strangers permission to build a fort, and near the bank of the river, where the town of Lourenço Marques now stands, they commenced to raise a pentagonal earthen wall capable of carrying cannon, within which a storehouse and quarters for the garrison were put up. It was named Fort Lagoa. Male blacks could not be induced to work, but they offered the services of their wives and daughters in exchange for beads, and often over two hundred women were employed in digging and carrying ground.

Before much building was done, fever of an extremely malignant kind attacked the Europeans, and within six weeks over two-thirds of them died, including the commander and the engineer. At length, however, the fort was ready for occupation, and then the *Zeelandia* was sent back to the Cape with letters and a little ivory and wax obtained in barter. She returned in August, together with the yacht *Uno*, conveying provisions and eighty soldiers to strengthen the garrison.

Upon learning what had occurred, the council of policy appointed Caspar Swertner successor to Mr. Van Taak, with the rank of junior merchant and a salary of £2 15*s.* 6*d.* a month. He was then at Delagoa Bay, but he died before intelligence of his appointment reached the station. A subaltern named Jan Michel was the next head of the party of occupation. The council hoped that by this time the survivors from the fever were seasoned to the climate, and that henceforth all would go well. But the outpost was destined to further trouble.

Time passed in trading, exploring, and gathering information, until the 11th of April 1722, when a report was brought to the station by some blacks that three ships of war under the English flag had entered the bay. The garrison was then reduced by death to seventy-eight men, and many of these were ill, so Commander Michel, who was suspicious of the character of the strange vessels, engaged a number of blacks to assist him. The ships

proved to be manned by buccaneers of all nations, commanded by English officers, who on the 19th entered the Espirito Santo, cast anchor before Fort Lagoa, and at once opened fire upon it. Commander Michel attempted to defend the post, but after a short cannonade was compelled to submit. The pirates then took possession, and plundered the store, but granted the prisoners their lives. A junior officer named Jan van de Capelle, with eighteen or twenty soldiers, managed to escape, and took refuge with a Bantu clan at some distance, with whom they remained nearly three months. Eighteen of the garrison, preferring a life of robbery to such an existence as that at the sickly station, joined the pirates.

Having repaired their ships, and bartered what provisions the Bantu inhabitants had to spare, on the 30th of June the buccaneers sailed, leaving the Dutch establishment a wreck, but taking away none of the soldiers except the eighteen who voluntarily joined them. They compelled one of the officials, however, named De Bucquoi, to pilot them out, as he had surveyed the bay and made a chart of its soundings. They also took with them the vessel which was employed as a packet between Table Bay and the station, to be able, as they said, to send the pilot back when they got outside, but they failed to keep their word, and De Bucquoi and the crew of the *Kaap* were obliged to remain with them until they reached a port in the island of Madagascar, when the involuntary passengers were set free, and after much suffering succeeded in getting to India.

The garrison was by this disaster cut off from communication with the outer world. But in course of time relief came, and the exploration of the country around the bay for a few kilometres inland was then completed. A little gold was brought by blacks from the interior to exchange for beads, and though the whole quantity was less than sixty grammes, it was sufficient to excite hope. The men who brought it asserted that they had travelled three moons and a half, but this statement was not credited.

The first who came had a little scale, with pebbles of different sizes for weights, from which it was known that he had dealt before with traders. The gold must have come from the locality now known as the Kaap gold-fields, which are only a hundred and forty kilometres in a straight line west of the Dutch trading station. That individual blacks should be acquainted with the mode of collecting alluvial gold and with its value was owing to the continuous migration southward of Bantu clans from the north. The man who owned the scales most likely learned their use in Manika or somewhere else near the Zambesi, as he could not have obtained them and acquired a knowledge of the purpose for which they were intended at any place nearer Delagoa Bay.

Over two thousand kilogrammes of ivory and two hundred and twenty-two kilogrammes of copper were procured in barter. The locality in which the copper mines were situated could not be ascertained, as the blacks who brought the metal for sale either could not or would not give information concerning it. It will be remembered that two centuries and a quarter earlier Vasco da Gama found copper plentiful among the inhabitants of the coast not very far beyond the Dutch station.

A report received from several sources that there was a mountain of iron some distance inland lured a party of nineteen men, under the leadership of the secunde, Jan Christoffel Stefler, to go in search of it. They left Fort Lagoa on the 9th of August 1723, with three pack oxen to carry provisions. At the end of a week they were in a charming country to appearance, though a very difficult one to travel in. In mountain kloofs were magnificent forests, the soil was rich and covered with long grass, streams of fresh water were numerous, and different kinds of game, particularly elephants, were seen in great abundance. It was somewhere along the Lebombo mountains, but the exact locality cannot be fixed from the description given in the journal of the expedition. When

crossing a river, the leading division of the exploring party was attacked and destroyed by a party of blacks, and as no one capable of giving directions was then left, the survivors returned to the bay.

The mountain they had gone in search of was really two hundred and forty kilometres in a straight line to the north-westward, which was farther than it was possible for them to have travelled over a broken country with the provisions at their disposal. It is curious that the existence of iron in vast quantities in a locality so remote should have been known to individuals visiting Delagoa Bay, and it shows that there must have been considerable intercourse between the communities on the coast and those in the near interior.

In May 1724 an active junior officer, named Jan van de Capelle, who had come to the station as a soldier with the first party under Mr. Van Taak, but who shortly afterwards became a clerk, was appointed secunde and provisional commandant of Fort Lagoa, as Jan Michel had requested to be relieved. Van de Capelle was one of those few Europeans who seem to be proof against fever, and who are able to retain their energies unimpaired in a sultry and sickly climate. His name will frequently be met with again, for he was associated with the Delagoa Bay station as long as it was maintained. He liked the place, though others remained there most unwillingly, for the climate had the reputation of being in the summer season one of the most deadly in the world.

The Company was not discouraged by the disasters that had occurred, and for a long time hopes were entertained of a profitable trade. In 1725 a little ambergris, some aloes, one hundred and thirty-six kilogrammes of copper, more than two thousand kilogrammes of ivory, thirty-four slaves, and a few pounds worth of gold dust were exported from the station. It was impossible to obtain any reliable information concerning the interior of the country from the inhabitants of the shores of the bay; but it was observed

on one occasion that two of the chief Maphumbo's men went inland and returned with some gold dust within fourteen days. They must have obtained it from others, but this raised a hope that the gold-fields might be easily reached, and on the 27th of June 1725 an expedition left Fort Lagoa in search of them. It consisted of thirty-one men under the leadership of Sergeant Jan Mona, with a clerk named Frans de Kuyper as journalist. After a toilsome march of twenty days in a westerly direction, without penetrating the country very far or gathering any information of importance, a party of hostile blacks was encountered, who opposed farther advance. In a skirmish several of the blacks were shot, but as the pack oxen were killed by the enemy and all the baggage and goods were seized, the expedition was obliged to return.

An attempt to search for the copper mines, made by a party under the mineralogist Jan Hendrik Hoorn, was also a failure.

The directors now issued instructions that attempts to discover the gold-fields and the civilised empire of Monomotapa should be made by means of boats pushing their way up the rivers. They still believed the great empire of Monomotapa to be a reality, though its exact position was regarded as doubtful, for this myth was as hard to die as that of Prester John. It did not occur to them either that the rivers around Delagoa Bay, flowing through a country which from the reports of the preceding expeditions they knew was traversed by mountains from north to south, could not be navigable in a westerly direction; they seemed to regard them as similar to the Maas or the Rhine. An old skipper, named Jan de Koning, was appointed commander, and the garrison was strengthened with a hundred soldiers and sailors.

At the end of May 1726 Commander De Koning arrived at Fort Lagoa. He found the secunde Jan van de Capelle, who had been acting head of the station, engaged in making experiments in the cultivation of sugar cane and indigo, both of which were thriving. There were constant feuds

between the various clans around the bay, but the Europeans were on good terms with all.

In order to obtain a legal claim against any other white people, Commander De Koning resolved to purchase the ground along the banks of the rivers from the Bantu chiefs in whose possession it was at the time, and they, when spoken to on the subject, asserted their willingness to comply with his wishes. They could have had no conception of the nature of such transactions, nor was it within their comprehension that such sales could have an important effect upon them and their people: what they understood was that in return for making marks upon a piece of paper agreeing to give white men access to certain localities, they would receive a large quantity of beads and other articles upon which they set a value. Accordingly formal documents were drawn up, in which the chiefs Maphumbo, Matowana *alias* Tembe,* Matole,* Matshaja *alias* Bombo,* and Manisa* professed to cede to the honourable East India Company extensive tracts of land along the different rivers flowing into the bay, in exchange for merchandise of different kinds. The deeds of sale are dated respectively 23rd of July, 2nd, 14th, and 24th of August, and 22nd of October 1726. The total value of the articles paid to the chiefs for these cessions was in round numbers sixty-two pounds sterling English money.

The Bantu were credited with a belief that the Europeans purchased slaves to fatten and eat them, and it was supposed that this belief was the cause of their bringing so few for sale. To counteract it, Commander De Koning sent three men of rank with their attendants on a visit to the Cape, that they might see for what purpose slaves were needed and how well they were cared for and treated. He was convinced that the contrast between slaves decently and cleanly

*These are titles rather than proper names, and were assumed by the chiefs upon their accession. They have been used by Europeans as geographical terms, and placed on maps as Tembe river, Matole district, Lebombo mountains, and Manisa river.

clothed, regularly supplied with good food, and comfortably lodged, and the naked and filthy free black, whose sustenance was irregular and precarious, and whose hut was devoid of conveniences, would impress upon the travellers the superiority of the condition of the former. So little was understood of the working of the minds of barbarians! One of those who visited the Cape was a nephew of Maphumbo, who had been to England, and had there received in baptism the name of John; but had been sent back to Delagoa Bay in 1723.* He spoke English fluently. The visitors professed to be pleased with the manner in which they saw the slaves were treated; but the traffic did not increase after their return.

As Fort Lagoa was too small for the accommodation of the garrison now stationed there, a larger area was enclosed with earthen walls, to which the name Fort Lydzaamheid was given. The rivers were ascended as far as they were navigable with boats, but very little information was obtained concerning the country. The Dutch officers were never able to ascertain the exact position and distance of either the copper mines or the gold-fields. It was supposed that the blacks were purposely concealing information which they were regarded as undoubtedly possessing, for how was it possible, wrote Mr. Van de Capelle, that they could know of Manika, Sena, and Sofala, and be able to state with

* He went to England in a trading vessel, and resided in that country several years, where he was treated as a person of great consequence. At his baptism a duke stood as his godfather. He returned to Delagoa Bay in a vessel named the *Northampton*, and brought back an outfit that astonished the officers at the Dutch factory. The captain of the *Northampton* seems to have anticipated that through the young chief's influence he would be able to carry on a large and profitable business with the inhabitants of the shores of the bay, but he was woefully disappointed. Prince John, as the young man was called in England, discarded his fine clothing and his Christianity, and shortly after his return was not to be distinguished from other Bantu. Except the three pirate ships, the *Northampton* was the only vessel other than Dutch that put into Delagoa Bay between March 1721 and December 1730.

certainty that at these places there were Portuguese traders, while at the same time they professed that they had never heard of the great empire of Monomotapa? One man asserted indeed, when first questioned, that he had visited a mighty state of that name, but when eagerly asked for details, his journey was found to have been to some insignificant locality which he called Blosje. A little gold dust was occasionally brought by individuals for sale, but wherever they came from they always declared that they obtained it from people farther inland. It was so mixed with other substances as to cause the assayers in Batavia to assert that every stiver's worth cost the Company a florin.

In December 1726 fever of a most malignant kind attacked the garrison, as it had done every previous summer, and in a few months thirty-eight men died, among them being Commander De Koning. Those who recovered from its attacks were debilitated to such an extent as to be incapable of much exertion, so that the station was in a very weak and wretched condition. The secunde Jan van de Capelle, who seemed to bear a charmed life, then became acting commander again. Reinforcements were sent from the Cape as soon as intelligence of the great loss of life was received there, and when they arrived attempts to explore the interior were renewed, but with no greater success than before.

The directors were becoming discouraged by the trifling value of the trade carried on and by the terrible mortality every year, so they issued instructions to ascertain whether a more healthy site could not be found, that would be better adapted for commerce. For this purpose on the 19th of July 1727 a little vessel named the *Victoria* was sent from Delagoa Bay to Inhambane. Upon her arrival no Portuguese were found, but there was evidence that they were in the habit of frequenting that port, for there was a church standing near the river bank, besides a large house built of reeds and some empty huts. About forty Mohamedans were living there, who stated that they were collecting ivory and slaves in expectation of the arrival of a pangayo from

Mozambique. The Dutch officers examined the country for a short distance around, and opened a trade with the inhabitants, in which they were able to purchase twenty-four slaves, forty-four kilogrammes of ivory, sixty-three grammes of ambergris, and seventeen kilogrammes of wax.

This was not very encouraging as to the amount of traffic to be carried on there, and besides there was the evidence before them of occasional temporary occupation by the Portuguese, which might be construed into a right of full possession. Further, although it was the healthiest time of the year on the East African coast, fully half of the *Victoria's* crew had been attacked by fever, so that her officers came to the conclusion that Inhambane, if occupied, would likely not be of greater advantage to the East India Company than Delagoa Bay. They were just ready to leave when a pangayo under the Portuguese flag, commanded by Captain Bernardo de Castro Soares, made her appearance. The Portuguese were naturally surprised to find a Dutch vessel in the river, but as they were unacquainted with the object of her visit and she was on the point of sailing, they thought it prudent merely to exchange civilities with her, and made no protest against her intrusion. The *Victoria* reached Delagoa Bay again on the 13th of November with many of her crew down with fever.

When the garrison of Fort Lydzaamheid came to learn that a Portuguese trading vessel was at Inhambane, some of the soldiers resolved to desert and march overland to that place, in hope of being conveyed in her to Mozambique, where they might get a passage either to Europe or to India. In their opinion, no kind of existence in any other part of the world could possibly be worse than the life they were then leading, and the sickly season was approaching, when it was certain that half of them would perish of fever. The soldiers were almost without exception Germans, who of course could not be attached by any feelings of patriotism to the Dutch East India Company, and those at Delagoa Bay were the most unruly of

their class, having been sent there from the Cape as a punishment for their misconduct or their crimes.

During the night of the 28th of November 1727 sixteen of them deserted and set out on their perilous journey. There is no record of their sufferings on the march, which must have been very great; still thirteen of them reached Inhambane alive, and found the trading vessel in the river. Captain Soares would not receive them on board, but he took so much compassion upon them as to furnish them with provisions, some calico and beads to trade with, and a pass, in order to rid himself of their presence. They resolved then to go on to Sofala, and the last that was heard of them was that three had died shortly after leaving Inhambane. The others must have perished farther on.

The officers at Fort Lydzaamheid were apprehensive that the council at the Cape and the directors in Holland might not be satisfied unless they made another attempt to ascertain the capabilities of Inhambane, and accordingly in April 1728, when the best season for exploration and traffic was just commencing, they sent the *Victoria* once more to make the experiment. She was well equipped with men, and carried a good assortment of merchandise for the purpose of trading with the Bantu. Upon her arrival she found the same pangayo at anchor that had been there the previous year, and her captain living in a palisaded enclosure on shore. He at once sent a protest against the Dutch trading in Portuguese territory. The Dutch officers thereupon sought an interview with him, and represented that as the Portuguese had no fort or other symbol of possession of any kind at the place they regarded their right to trade as equal to his. He replied that his right was based on discovery by his nation, and on the Portuguese, and they alone, having traded there in the past. The Dutch officers responded that if he would show them clear proofs of Portuguese possession they would leave, as they wished to act in a friendly manner only. He then said that he had done his duty by protesting, and

could not prevent them from trafficking with the inhabitants if they were resolved to do so.

After this for some time the two parties were outwardly on friendly terms, but no attempt was made to examine the country around. There was very little sickness, and no other difficulty was apparent in the way of exploration, but the Dutch officers thought it best to keep their people together and to confine themselves to an effort to see what trade could be done. They had obtained forty-two slaves, three hundred and five kilogrammes of ivory, one hundred and fifty grammes of ambergris, and twenty-three kilogrammes of wax, when one day they found that none of the inhabitants would come near them. The reason was that a Portuguese officer with a large band of armed blacks had arrived from Sofala, and was executing dire vengeance npon all who had been dealing with them. To have remained longer would have been useless under the circumstances, so they returned at once to Delagoa Bay. After that time the Dutch East India Company never thought of forming a settlement at Inhambane, but it was still kept in contemplation to establish a station on some other part of the coast, if a suitable place could be found.

The misery of life at Fort Lydzaamheid was so great that in 1728 a large number of men conspired to seize the Company's magazine in order to provide themselves with goods, to put to death all who should resist them, and then to march overland to the Portuguese factories in the north, from which they hoped to be able to make their way to some other part of the world. The plot was to have been carried out in the night of the 19th of August, but during the preceding day a sailor boy made the acting commander Van de Capelle acquainted with it. The necessary steps were at once taken to secure the conspirators, and in the course of a few hours sixty-two men—one third of the garrison, which was then one hundred and eighty-six strong —were arrested and placed in close confinement.

The circumstances were such that the prisoners could not be sent to Capetown for trial, so a special court was formed, and Ensign Mona was appointed acting fiscal and directed to conduct the prosecution. The trial took place in a panic, for it was uncertain whether the conspirators had not the sympathy of some of those who were guarding them, and so very likely they had not perfectly fair play. More than half of the accused were sentenced to death, but some were allowed to draw lots for their lives with a long term of hard labour in chains. Twenty-two were executed, some of them being bound on crosses and having their bones broken with iron bars before their heads were cut off, some being half suffocated and then beheaded, and the others being hanged. Thirty-seven others suffered various punishments less severe, and death in prison before their sentences could be carried into effect relieved the remaining three.

Another disaster speedily followed. The chiefs Matashaj, Mambe, Matole, and Mateke, united their forces and attacked Maphumbo, who was obliged to abandon his kraals and flee to his ally Tembe for protection. The combined force advanced next against the chief Kwambe, close to whose kraal was a station guarded by six soldiers, where some cattle belonging to the Company were kept. Mr. Van de Capelle thereupon —30th of April 1729—sent Ensign Mona with twenty-nine European soldiers, an interpreter, and five slaves to protect the outpost. On the way this band came in sight of the army of the combined chiefs, when Sergeant Jan Mulder, who was in front with a small detached party, very imprudently ordered his men to fire, instead of first ascertaining the intentions of the blacks. This brought on an action, in which the European force was utterly annihilated, only one wounded slave escaping to tell the tale.

The allied chiefs afterwards protested that they had no desire to quarrel with the Europeans, and had only acted in self defence. That this statement was correct was proved by the fact that they did not disturb the cattle post and by

their restoring to the acting commander some of the firearms belonging to the men who had fallen.

A great deal of money had by this time been lost by the Company in the establishment and maintenance of the station at Delagoa Bay, and there was no prospect of any trade in the future that would meet the expense of keeping it in existence. It was acknowledged to be worthless, yet the assembly of seventeen could not make up their minds to abandon it. There was still the glamour of gold connected with the coast of South-Eastern Africa, and when the mines should be discovered, as some day they must be, it would be of advantage to have a stronghold somewhere near them. So they would not take the full responsibility upon themselves of withdrawing from Fort Lydzaamheid, but resolved to leave its abandonment or retention to the discretion of the council of policy at the Cape.

The council thereupon resolved, 11th of June 1730, that the sooner it could be abandoned the better, and on the 12th of August the little vessels *Snuffelaar*, *Zeepost*, and *Feyenoord*, which were employed as packets at the Cape, left to bring away the garrison and effects. Upon their arrival in the bay with instructions to this purpose the walls of the fort were levelled with the ground, and the woodwork of the buildings was destroyed. Everything of value was transferred to the holds of the vessels. When this was completed, on the 27th of December 1730 the acting commander Van de Capelle and one hundred and thirty-three other Europeans—officers, soldiers, mechanics, boatmen, and convicts—with twenty-five slaves, embarked, and they arrived at Capetown in the middle of January 1731.

The Dutch had thus been in occupation of Delagoa Bay for nearly ten years, during which time their right of possession had never been disputed by any one. On the 12th of April 1723, indeed, the king of Portugal wrote to the viceroy at Goa that it was rumoured the Dutch had established themselves in a port on the coast, which might be that of Lourenço Marques, and that he had resolved to send a frigate

to compel them to withdraw, but this resolution was never acted upon, nor can a single trace be found of interference of any kind having ever been attempted, or even of any remonstrance having been made.

It is stated by Portuguese writers that in 1721 it was brought to the notice of the king João V that the English East India Company had resolved to form an establishment at Delagoa Bay, but upon representations of the right of Portugal being made to his Britannic Majesty the design was abandoned; but this does not affect the Dutch occupation. Fort Lagoa was the first stronghold built by Europeans on the site of the present town of Lourenço Marques, the place was abandoned on account of its unhealthiness and the lack of materials for profitable trade, and the question of Portuguese right was never taken into consideration in connection with it.

The correctness of a supposition made in the Dutch records regarding the extent of the knowledge of metallurgy possessed by the Bantu is not borne out by independent investigation. It is to the effect that among other articles brought for sale were copper and tin in small quantities, and it was believed that the Bantu had learned to mix these metals and to make bronze arm and neck rings. No specimens of bronze manufactured by Bantu are known to exist in South Africa at the present day.

Delagoa Bay was abandoned, but the Dutch East India Company had still a strong desire to establish a station somewhere on the south-eastern coast, in order to secure at least a share of the trade in ivory which really existed and in gold which it was believed could be developed if the site of the mines could be ascertained. It was therefore determined to make a thorough inspection of the coast south of Inhambane, to examine whether a harbour could not be found with a less deadly climate than Delagoa Bay and with facilities for opening up trade with the interior.

For this purpose, on the 14th of September 1731 two little vessels named the *Snuffelaar* and the *Zeepost* sailed

from Table Bay. Jan van de Capelle, who had acted so long as commander at Fort Lydzaamheid, accompanied the expedition as journalist. Soon after leaving Table Bay the *Zeepost* sprang a leak, which obliged her to put into Delagoa Bay and remain there while her consort proceeded northward. The *Snuffelaar* ran up the coast, examining it as carefully as she could without actually surveying it, and having discovered no such place as she was in search of, on the 11th of October put into Inhambane.

There the Dutch officers found that a palisaded fort in the form of a square had been built in the preceding year, which was then occupied by a few soldiers under the command of Captain João da Fonseca Moniz. This was acknowledged as ample evidence of permanent occupation, which secured for the Portuguese the exclusive right to the river. The captain received the Dutch officers most civilly, and informed them that as they were of a friendly nation they would be supplied with as much water, fuel, and refreshments as they were in need of, but that he could not permit them to carry on any trade. The place, he said, yielded very little profit, and the establishment was maintained principally as evidence of the rights of the king. Upon being questioned as to how far those rights extended, he replied from Delagoa Bay to Cape Guardafui. A priest was present during the conversation. There was no Portuguese vessel in the river at the time, but on the 14th of October one well armed arrived from Mozambique. From this date onward Inhambane has been permanently occupied by the Portuguese, and no European power has molested them there.

On the 23rd of October the *Snuffelaar* sailed, without having done any trade whatever, and dropped down with the current to Delagoa Bay, where she rejoined the *Zeepost*. At this place three months were passed in trading, during which time twelve hundred kilogrammes of ivory, twenty-two slaves, and ninety-seven kilogrammes of some metal called tin in Van de Capelle's narrative, were obtained in barter from the blacks.

On the 30th of January 1732 the two vessels sailed from Delagoa Bay to examine the coast to the southward, but off St. Lucia Bay fever broke out, several men died and many more were laid up, and they were consequently obliged to return to Table Bay. Their officers reported that no suitable place for a station could be found.

Even yet the Company did not abandon all hope of being able to form an establishment on the south-eastern coast, and in September 1732 the *Zeepost* and *Feyenoord* were sent from the Cape to make another search for a better place than the one abandoned. They encountered almost constant stormy weather, and were obliged to put into Delagoa Bay to repair the damages they had sustained. No other port was visited, and after an absence of four months the expedition arrived again in Table Bay with an account of failure. Only then was the project given up, after a very large amount of money had been lost and much life sacrificed in the attempt to carry it into execution

CHAPTER XLII.

JAN DE LA FONTAINE, SECUNDE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 8TH SEPTEMBER 1724 TO 25TH FEBRUARY 1727.

PIETER GYSBERT NOODT, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 25TH FEBRUARY 1727, DIED 23RD APRIL 1729.

JAN DE LA FONTAINE, SECUNDE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 24TH APRIL 1729 TO 8TH MARCH 1730, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 8TH MARCH 1730, RETIRED 31ST AUGUST 1737.

ADRIAAN VAN KERVEL, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 31ST AUGUST 1737, DIED 19TH SEPTEMBER 1737.

IN consequence of foreign ships being prevented from obtaining supplies at the Cape during the period of scarcity, very few vessels not under the Dutch flag now put into Table Bay. The burghers felt the loss severely, for foreigners had brought ready money into the country; but it was hoped that with better times they would return again. This hope was not, however, realised. The plague among the cattle after a few years decreased in virulence, and beef and mutton were obtainable at three pence to four pence a kilogramme, but the Cape had lost its reputation of affording cheap supplies of fresh provisions, and it was a long time in regaining it.

The isthmus connecting the Cape peninsula with the continent was at this time a barren waste of sand. With difficulty laden waggons traversed it, for there was no road, and nothing but a line of poles indicated the best course across. From reports of skippers, the directors were led to believe that Table Bay would at no very distant date be filled with the sand which violent south-

east gales swept into it during the summer months. To prevent this, they issued instructions that attempts should be made to fix the sand by planting it with grass and trees, and in the winter of 1724 the work was commenced. Seventy slaves and a gang of convicts were employed in planting knot-grass and seeds of the wild olive, and, when these failed, in ensuing rainy seasons the experiment was repeated with belts of sods.

The valuable properties of the mesembryanthemum for binding surface sand were then unknown. For eleven years, with one short interval, the effort to plant the flats was continued, every winter much labour being expended upon it; but in 1735 it was abandoned in despair. The directors, however, were by this time satisfied that Table Bay was in no danger of silting up. A commission of nautical men that was appointed to examine it carefully sent in a report that within the preceding half century, so far from its filling up with sand, the water had become deeper.

To superintend the experiments in silk culture, which the directors resolved should be made, the services of a competent man, named François Guillaumet, were secured. In October 1726 he and his family arrived at the Cape. Attempts had previously been made to bring silkworm eggs from India, but in no instance had they been successful. Some had been received in good condition from Europe, however, and the worms when hatched had been carefully attended to in the houses of Messrs. Jan de la Fontaine and Nicolaas Heyning. They were now handed over to Guillaumet. There were plenty of healthy mulberry trees, and the superintendent was furnished with whatever slave labour he asked for. Everything was thus in favour of the experiment.

In the first year nearly four kilogrammes weight of good silk was obtained, which was sent to the Netherlands, and was an object of considerable interest at Amsterdam and Middelburg. Anticipations arose of another manufacturing

industry in the mother country, with an article produced in a Dutch colony. The members of the council of policy at the Cape were equally enthusiastic. A large building was immediately erected near the Company's garden, and was placed at Guillaumet's disposal for keeping the worms in. The children in the slave lodge close by were all to be employed out of school hours in winding silk. Some thousands of young mulberry trees were planted in selected places. Any burghers who had a fancy to join in the industry, which was now believed to have passed the experimental stage, were supplied with a few eggs and the necessary instructions.

Yet in no subsequent year did the production of silk exceed five kilogrammes in weight. The great majority of the worms always died before making cocoons, and in one particular season they would have become extinct altogether if it had not been that a few were preserved by some burghers. It was soon ascertained that the returns were so trifling as to forbid the industry being attractive to people who could make a living in any other way. For eight years, however, the experiment was continued by the government. In 1735 every one admitted that it could not be made to succeed, and by order of the directors it was then given up.

Another industry which the Company at this time attempted to establish in South Africa was the production of kirman hair. Shawls made of this hair were then considered second only in value to those of Cashmere. The goat which produces it is reared in Persia, and in that country twenty-four young animals were obtained, which were sent to Ceylon to be forwarded to the Cape. In February 1725 eight of these reached South Africa, the others having died on the way. Of the eight, only one was a she-goat, and that died shortly after being landed. From ordinary she-goats cross-breeds were obtained, and from these and the pure animals, now reduced by death to two, goats with tolerably long and fine hair

were bred. Some burghers were then induced to make experiments with the animals. After a few years' trial they informed the council that unless the Company would pay seven shillings a kilogramme for the hair, it would not be worth their while to keep separate flocks. That price could not be given even for a superior article. But instead of improving the quality, the owners of the goats allowed the hair to deteriorate by mixture with common animals until a quantity sent to Europe in 1735 was quite unsaleable. The experiment was then abandoned.

In November 1726 a corporal and six men were sent over the Hottentots-Holland mountains to form an outpost at a place called the Ziekenhuis, on the river Zonderend. The few Hottentots left in that part of the country had complained to the government that they were not able to hold their own against the Bushmen, and that they were also exposed to depredations from vagrant Europeans, who professed to visit them for purposes of trade, but in reality robbed them of cattle. Owing to these complaints the outpost was formed, in order that acts of violence might be prevented. The directors were so dissatisfied that the Europeans of Van der Heiden's party, of whom the Drakenstein consistory had complained, could not be brought to justice for their conduct towards the Hottentots, that they issued instructions to prohibit all dealing by private persons with the uncivilised inhabitants under heavier penalties than before. In consequence, on the 9th of April 1727 a very strict placaat to that effect was issued.

The officer whom the assembly of seventeen selected as governor was the director of fortifications, Pieter Gysbert Noodt, who seven years earlier had inspected the shore of Table Bay and prepared plans of defensive works. Intelligence of his appointment reached South Africa in January 1726, and on the 6th of December of that year he left Batavia as admiral of a homeward bound fleet of nine ships. On the 13th of February 1727 he reached

the Cape, and on the 25th of the same month was formally installed as governor. His family was small, consisting only of his wife—Johanna Drabbe by name—and two sons.

Mr. Noodt was a coarse, harsh, ill-tempered man, full of pride and self-conceit, and therefore generally disliked. He took special pleasure in irritating the secunde Jan de la Fontaine, and attempted even to injure that officer's good name. In consequence, De la Fontaine tendered his resignation; but the directors, instead of accepting it, increased his salary from £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to £10 a month.

In 1727 a party of five English divers under a foreman named John Lethbridge, who had been engaged in Europe and sent out by the directors, endeavoured to recover the treasure buried in wrecks in Table Bay. The apparatus which they brought with them is not described, but whatever it was, it enabled them to remain a considerable time under water. They recovered some coin and a quantity of goods, but found that most of the wreckage was deeply covered with sand.

During the summer the forests along the river Zonderend were examined by the governor in person, with a view of ascertaining whether they could not be made of greater use to the Company. But the mountain range separating them from the Cape was found to be too formidable a barrier to allow the transport of timber with profit.

Mr. Noodt was at the head of this colony for a period of two years and two months. He was generally disliked, but as he did not interfere with the burghers, they did not complain of him as they had of the younger Van der Stel. He died suddenly when sitting in the pleasure house in the Company's garden between three and four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd of April 1729. A few hours before, when apparently in perfect health, he had signed documents which are still in existence. On the last day of the month his body was buried with state

under the pavement of the church, but in the records there is no trace of regret shown by any one for his death. With the first homeward bound fleet of the following year his family returned to Europe.

The character of this governor is usually pictured in the blackest colours. It was so drawn in an account of the Cape written by a German tutor who lived in the colony for several years after 1732, and whose narrative of the trial of some soldiers for conspiring to desert and of their execution on the day of Mr. Noodt's death has not only been copied in many modern books, but was the foundation of a drama which was popular some years ago. Yet that account is almost entirely ideal, being nothing more than a tale by a man who had no other means of obtaining information than gossip upon a past event.

In the records of the high court of justice, which are in perfect preservation, the circumstance is thus related. Fourteen soldiers planned to desert from the garrison and march overland to the Portuguese possessions beyond Delagoa Bay, where they supposed they would find means to get to Europe. In the night of the 2nd of April 1729 two of them were on guard. These deserted with their arms and assisted some of the others to rob the guardhouse of nine muskets with ammunition. One was unable to get away, the remaining thirteen marched towards Stellenbosch. During the next day they visited the farms of Andries Schutte and Izaak Nel, where they obtained food, and then continued on their journey.

The governor, meantime, instructed Pieter Lourens, landdrost of Stellenbosch, to call out a party of burghers and arrest the fugitives. Early in the morning of the 4th they were overtaken at the Hottentots-Holland mountains, but only two gave themselves up when the landdrost summoned them to surrender. The others maintained a running fight for three hours, when their leader was shot and eight were captured. Another was

made prisoner a few days later, and the remaining three returned of their own accord to the castle and surrendered.

They were brought to trial, and on the 21st of April sentence was passed. Four were condemned to be hanged, and their bodies afterwards to be exposed to perish by the air and the birds. Five were to be flogged, branded, and made to labour fifteen years in chains. Three were to be flogged and made to labour ten years. And the last was to be flogged and made to labour three years. At the foot of this sentence the original signatures may still be seen of the members of the high court of justice: Pieter Gysbert Noodt, Jan de la Fontaine, Johannes Theophilus Rhenius, Nicolaas Heyning, Hendrik Swellengrebel, Christoffel Brand, J. P. van Coller, and Ryk Tulbagh.

The sentence was carried into effect on the morning of the 23rd, and the only interference of the governor that is recorded is that he used his power of mitigation to permit the burial of the four who were hanged, instead of allowing them to be exposed. The punishment was in accordance with the spirit of those times, and was not more severe than was inflicted for similar offences in other countries.

At eight in the morning after Mr. Noodt's death the council of policy met, and decided that the secunde Jan de la Fontaine should again act as head of the government until the pleasure of the supreme authorities could be known. With the next homeward bound fleet they sent a request to the directors that he should be permanently appointed governor, and on the 20th of February 1730 despatches were received to the effect that their request had been complied with. The fiscal independent, Adriaan van Kervel, was appointed to succeed him as secunde, and Daniel van den Henghel, who was then in service at Colombo, was appointed fiscal. On the 8th of March 1730 Mr. De la Fontaine took the oath of office and was formally installed as governor. On the 21st of

March 1732 he was further promoted to the rank of councillor extraordinary of Netherlands India, a position which added much to his dignity.

The East India Company, upon whose fortunes this colony greatly depended, had now passed the zenith of its prosperity. Its dividends, which for the ten years ending 31st December 1722 had been at the rate of thirty-seven per cent per annum upon the paid up capital, averaged only twenty-one per cent for the ten years 1723-1732, and never afterwards rose higher than twenty-five per cent. Many of its trading establishments were not returning the expense of maintenance. The commerce of the English and French in the East was making enormous strides, and some branches were completely lost to the Dutch. The coasting trade of Southern Asia, which had once been almost exclusively in possession of the Company, had fallen into other hands.

In Holland matters were quite as bad. The directorate was secured by members of powerful families, who were content to draw a revenue without troubling themselves to correct abuses. Their influence was sufficient to prevent the states-general from exercising the right of inspection into the Company's affairs, and of seeing that its transactions were conducted in such a manner as not to be prejudicial to the interests of the republic. In India even their positive instructions were sometimes disregarded, on the plea that it was impossible for a body of gentlemen who had never been out of the Netherlands to make regulations for a country of whose circumstances they could know very little. Thus in 1706 Mr. Abraham van Riebeek, when filling the office of director-general, could say to a clergyman who was remonstrating against being transferred to an undesirable post from one to which the assembly of seventeen had appointed him, "The gentlemen in the fatherland regulate matters as they find good there, but we act here according to our knowledge as we judge best."

Under these circumstances the corruption, which for a long time had been prevalent in the public service, extended more deeply than before. The appointment of independent fiscals had done nothing to check it. In the Asiatic dependencies, where there were no intelligent freemen to resist oppression,—which indeed at its worst did not equal that of the native princes,—wealth was accumulated by the Company's servants in shameless ways. The ancient simplicity of manners had disappeared. The officers of government lived in a style of ostentation resembling that of Asiatic rulers, and bribery and fraud were commonly practised.

At the Cape there was less opportunity for such misconduct, as the colonists were not the people to submit tamely to wrong of any kind. Further, it may have been accidental, or it may have been owing to their living in a healthier moral atmosphere, but the chief officials in South Africa for many years after the death of Governor Noodt were men held in general esteem, whose probity was never questioned.

Previous to 1732 ground was held by individuals in the colony either under freehold title or annual leases. On the 18th of February of this year, by order of the directors, another system of land tenure was introduced. It was enacted that garden ground in the Cape peninsula and small plots of land adapted for agriculture and bordering on freehold farms could be leased for periods of fifteen years, during which they were to be irreclaimable; and if at the expiration of any term of fifteen years the Company should resume possession, the tenant was to be compensated for all buildings at a fair valuation. The rent first named was eight shillings and four pence a morgen yearly, but a few months later it was permanently fixed at two shillings and a penny a morgen. At the same time the rent of the large farms or cattle runs of three thousand morgen each held under annual leases was raised from £2 10*s.* to £5.

As far back as 1719 the burgher councillors, acting on behalf of several colonists who were acquainted with the east coast and the islands of Madagascar and the Mascarenhas group, had requested liberty to trade with those countries upon payment of reasonable import and export duties. They proposed to purchase manufactured goods from the Company, and to exchange these goods and Cape produce for slaves, ivory, gold dust, and anything else of commercial value that should be obtainable. The directors, who were then intent upon maintaining an establishment of their own on the eastern coast, to which this scheme would be a rival, refused their consent; but now that Delagoa Bay had been abandoned they were disposed to take the request into favourable consideration, if the colonists would submit their plans in detail. In 1732 a committee of officers of the Cape government, consisting of Messrs. Adriaan van Kervel, Nicolaas Heyning, and Ryk Tulbagh, was appointed to meet the acting and retired burgher councillors, and after discussing the question with them, to draw up a report for transmission to the Netherlands. The conference took place; but the burgher councillors stated that circumstances had changed since 1719, those who were then prepared to embark in the trade having died or engaged in other pursuits, and they thought no advantage could now be derived from the project. The Company's losses on the eastern coast were evidently sufficient to deter private individuals from embarking in commercial enterprise in that direction while those losses were fresh in their memory.

In June 1734 a homeward bound Indiaman, named the *Huis te Marquette*, put into Mossel Bay in distress, which led to the governor visiting that port. On the 7th of July he left the Cape, attended by the secretary, Ryk Tulbagh, the master of the naval department, Jacobus Möller, Ensign Rudolph Sigfried Alleman, and the burghers Jan Kruywagen, Jan Hop, Jan Christoffel Beck, Jacobus Botha, and Andries Grové, whose farms were in the

neighbourhood of Mossel Bay and who offered the use of their waggons and cattle. The distressed ship was relieved, and the bay was examined; but the governor left with a very poor opinion of its capabilities as a harbour. The party proceeded eastward to the forests in the district once occupied by the Outeniqua tribe, which the governor wished to explore. Heavy rains, however, set in, which necessitated a return before the rivers should become flooded. The party was absent not quite two months. At Mossel Bay the governor caused a stone beacon, with the arms of the republic engraved on one side and the monogram of the East India Company on the other, to be erected as a mark of possession.

A few weeks later, a small military outpost, similar to those at Waveren and the river Zonderend, was established at Rietvlei, on the Buffeljagts river, between the present villages of Swellendam and Heidelberg. The objects were to prevent illicit cattle dealing with the Hottentots, and to provide protection to the farmers and the Hottentots from the Bushmen. In the same year a corporal and six men were sent to form a temporary outpost at St. Helena Bay, where it was feared that the French had an intention of establishing a refreshment station. After an occupation of a few months, upon receipt of intelligence from Europe, this outpost was broken up.

During the period comprised in this chapter the Company suffered very heavy losses from shipwrecks in Table Bay, and the number of men that perished was large.

On Saturday the 3rd of July 1728 there were six ships at anchor in the bay, when a gale set in from the north-north-west. At one o'clock in the afternoon the *Stabroek* parted her cables and was driven ashore between the castle and the mouth of Salt River. She was followed two hours later by the *Haarlem*, which grounded nearer the castle. Neither of these vessels was broken, and only two men of each were drowned in endeavouring to get to

land. A little after three o'clock the *Middenrak* went ashore just beyond the mouth of Salt River. There were seventy-five men on board, and the ship was in a raging surf, so that it was not possible to render any assistance. Night set in, and the hull of the *Middenrak* still held together. But when morning dawned on Sunday the 4th, all that remained of the ship was strewed along the beach, and not one of the seventy-five was saved to tell when she had gone to pieces. The other three vessels rode out the gale.

The *Haarlem* was got afloat again, and was sent to Saldanha Bay to be repaired. This was effected, and she returned to Table Bay on the 4th of December. At that season of the year danger was not anticipated, though the day was rainy and the wind was variable from north-west to south-west. At ten o'clock that night the *Haarlem* parted her cables and went ashore close to the mouth of Salt River, where she broke up at once. Of one hundred and seven men on board, only sixteen got to land on pieces of the wreck.

On the morning of the 9th of January 1729 the provision ship *Saxenburg*, bound from Batavia to the Cape with rice and other Indian produce, went down in a gale off Cape Agulhas. Of eighty-eight souls on board, all perished but seven, who were picked up on pieces of the wreck by other vessels a few hours later.

In consequence of the numerous disasters that had occurred in Table Bay in the winter season, the directors issued instructions that the several harbours in the neighbourhood of the Cape should be carefully examined, and a report be submitted to them. To perform this, a commission was appointed, consisting of two old skippers, one named Jacobus Möller, who was then acting as master of the naval establishment, the other named Jan de Heere, who had been for some time living in the colony as a burgher. They sounded Table Bay, and made a chart of it, after which they sent in a report that it was not

filling up, that it could be made a perfectly safe harbour by means of a mole, but that the mole would cost a great deal of money. Saldanha Bay they described as secure, but as wanting in everything else that could make a refreshment station valuable. Simon's Bay they thought more highly of, as it would give shelter to eight or ten ships in all weathers, and there was plenty of fresh water to be had. Its drawbacks they reported to be the want of ground in its neighbourhood fit for gardens and difficulty of access by land. No immediate action was taken upon this report, but shortly after it was sent in the attention of the directors was again drawn to the subject by a disaster approaching in magnitude the one caused by the great gale of June 1722. Then arrangements, which will be related in the next chapter, were made to provide as far as possible for the safety of the fleets.

During the night between the 1st and 2nd of July 1736 the brigantine *Feyenoord* was driven ashore in a gale near Salt River mouth, and became a wreck. Only one life was lost.

On the 21st of May 1737 nine ships, mostly of the third class, were lying at anchor in Table Bay ready to sail for the fatherland. During the preceding night a heavy gale had set in from the north-west, and as day broke the wind veered a little more to the westward, increasing the swell of the sea. Huge waves were rolling in between Robben Island and Green Point, and the bay was like a sheet of foam. As the gale increased, the ships' cables began to part, and between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning minute guns were heard.

In a short time the *Ypenroode* was seen to be drifting. She struck close to the mouth of Salt River, and with the shock her masts fell and she broke into fragments in the surf. Some of her crew managed to get to land. The *Goudriaan* parted next. She struck broadside on, with her stern in the mouth of Salt River, and went to pieces at once. The larger number of those on board

perished. At noon the *Flora* struck at the same place as the *Goudriaan*. She, too, went to pieces immediately, and of her crew only six men got to land. The *Paddenburg* followed, but her crew were more fortunate. She was carried in on the crest of a mountain wave, and passed directly over the other wrecks, striking high up on the beach. She went to pieces with the shock, but most of those on board escaped with their lives. At half past two in the afternoon the *Westerwyk* was driven ashore at the same place. She ran high on the beach without breaking up, and only a few of her men were lost. At four o'clock the *Buys* struck close to the *Westerwyk*, but she went to pieces at once, and only five of her crew were saved. Early in the evening the *Duynbeek* was driven ashore beyond Salt River mouth, and broke up immediately, very few of her men being saved. Later on, the *Roodenrys* struck at the same place, but she held together until all of her crew but six got to land by means of a rope attached to a yard which was washed up. At the same time the brigantine *Victoria*, one of the Cape packets, was carried by a great wave high on the beach, where she lay dry when the gale was spent. Nearly all of her crew were saved.

There were now left in the bay only the *Papenburg*, homeward bound Indiaman, and the *Goede Hoop*, a small vessel built at the Cape in 1733 and used as a packet. These managed to ride out the gale.

In all two hundred and eight men were lost out of seven hundred and thirty-nine that formed the crews of the wrecked Indiamen. The purchase price of the cargo with which the beach was strewn was £160,128.

While the ships were drifting ashore a placaat was issued threatening summary execution of any one found pilfering the wrecked cargo. A military guard was stationed on the beach, and four men who were caught stealing were actually hanged on a gallows erected near the water's edge, where their bodies were left exposed as

a warning to others. These executions took place on the same principle as that which permitted the shooting of Bushman cattle-lifters, the principle that it is justifiable to put to death a thief caught redhanded.

The staff of clergy in the colony had by this time undergone a complete change. When last referred to, the reverend Messrs. D'Ailly and Slicher were clergymen at the Cape, Mr. Bek was at Stellenbosch, and Mr. Van Aken was at Drakenstein. In December 1724 Mr. Van Aken died. For some months the pulpit was vacant, but at length, as the high school was now broken up, the council of policy resolved to send Mr. Slicher to Drakenstein, and leave the Cape to the care of Mr. D'Ailly alone until another clergyman should be provided by the directors. Mr. Slicher accordingly took over the duty on the 15th of July 1725. Early in the following year Mr. D'Ailly was taken seriously ill, and he died in June, when Mr. Bek was removed to the Cape, Mr. Slicher being directed to hold services occasionally at Stellenbosch. So matters remained for more than three years.

The directors sent out as second clergyman at the Cape the reverend François le Sueur, who conducted service here for the first time on the 16th of October 1729. In June 1730 Mr. Slicher died, when the council instructed Mr. Le Sueur to act provisionally at Drakenstein and Stellenbosch. He returned to the Cape in April 1731, upon the arrival from Europe of the reverend Johan Wilhelm Hartzogenrath, who had been appointed by the directors clergyman of Drakenstein. At the same time the council resolved that Mr. Hartzogenrath should act as consulent of Stellenbosch, and permitted Mr. Bek, who was advanced in years and very feeble, to retire with a pension.

In April 1732 the reverend Hendrik Kock arrived from Europe, having been appointed second clergyman of the Cape, and he was followed in November of the same year by the reverend Salomon van Echten, who was sent

out as clergyman of Stellenbosch. Thus the whole of the churches were again supplied with ministers, after a series of vacancies during eight years. In June 1736 Mr. Hartzogenrath died, when Mr. Van Echten was removed to Drakenstein with instructions to act as consulent for Stellenbosch.

The country at this time must have been explored far inland, for parties of elephant hunters were sometimes absent from the settlement eight or nine months together before returning with their waggons laden with ivory. But these people were very reticent upon the subject of routes and hunting grounds, and information obtained from them was known to be so unreliable that the government did not take the trouble to place it on record.

There was, however, one notable exception.

In May 1736 a party of elephant hunters, headed by a man named Hermanus Hubner, left the settlement, and travelled eastward to Kaffirland. There were eleven white men in the party, with thirteen waggons and a strong band of Hottentots. Passing through the district occupied by the Gonaquas, at whose head was a man whom they called Captain Babbelaan, they came to the kraal of a petty Xosa chief, and then to the residence of Palo, paramount ruler of the Xosa tribe. Proceeding still farther, they reached the country of the Tembus, where they found four colonists, with six waggons, hunting elephants and trading with the Tembus for ivory.

The two parties here united, and went on to a district which they believed to be part of Natal, where they found a tribe whom they termed Nomotis. There can hardly be a doubt that the Pondos are the people referred to. Here they met three Englishmen, named Thomas Willer, Henry Clerk, and William Bilyert, who had been shipwrecked many years before, and were living in all respects like Bantu, having numerous wives and children. From these Englishmen they purchased on credit about five thousand kilogrammes

of ivory, for which they undertook to deliver at a future date a certain quantity of iron, copper, and beads. They had now sufficient ivory to load ten waggons, each with eight or nine hundred kilogrammes in weight. They therefore commenced the return journey, intending to hunt by the way, the three Englishmen proposing to accompany them as far as Palo's kraal. From the country of the Nomotis, they passed through that of the Tembus, and kept on until they reached the kraal of Palo, where it was their purpose to remain for a week or two to let their cattle rest. So far they had been treated in a friendly manner by the Bantu with whom they had come in contact, and they had no cause to suspect different conduct at Palo's kraal.

After resting a while, nine of them, with seven waggons, went on ahead, and after a day's journey came to a river which was so swollen that they were obliged to encamp on its bank and wait its fall. The name of this river is not given. The three Englishmen were with this party, but did not intend to proceed farther. The river was falling, though slowly, and on the eighth day after leaving Palo's kraal they were still waiting on its bank, when two of the Hottentots whom they had left with their companions appeared and informed them that all the others had been massacred.

The Hottentots stated that Hermanus Hubner was sitting in front of the tent, in which the other Europeans were lying down, when one of the servants reported that he had observed indications of a hostile design on the part of Palo's people. Hubner took no notice of the warning, replying that the people were friendly and there was no cause whatever for alarm. Shortly afterwards some Xosas drove up eight oxen, and on behalf of the chief presented them to Hubner. While they were talking, one of them suddenly stabbed Hubner with an assagai. He drew the weapon from his body, and tried to reach his gun, but before he could do so was killed by another stab in the back. The Xosas then rushed upon

the tent from all sides, and murdered Frederik Hubner, Andries Esterhuis, and Gerrit van Vuuren before they could take any step to protect themselves. Philip Constant and Anthonie Pottier managed to get out of the tent, but were killed close by. The bodies were afterwards mutilated.

The murderers then unloaded the twelve waggons and burnt them, probably to get the iron. Among the stores were three kegs of gunpowder, each containing twenty-three kilogrammes. The Xosas broke these open, and threw the powder in a heap, when suddenly there was a tremendous explosion and a great number of those who were close by were killed and wounded.

Upon learning the fate of their comrades, eight of the Europeans at the river hastened across with the waggons. The three Englishmen, who had no fear of the Kaffirs, remained behind, and one of the hunters, by name Louis Cloete, thought it advisable to place himself under their protection. Soon after crossing the river, the party was overtaken by a great horde of Kaffirs, among whom they recognised some half-breeds. They fired upon the pursuers, and struck down eight or ten; but as they had very little powder left, they took the first opportunity of abandoning the waggons and continuing their flight on foot. For three days and two nights the Kaffirs followed, until they came to the Gonaqua country, where Captain Babbelaan gave them an escort as far as the Fish river. One of their number, by name Christoffel Hoogreefde, became faint on the way, and they left him under care of the Gonaquas.

The seven who had escaped continued their journey on foot to the Sunday river, where they met another party of elephant hunters, under Gerrit Oosthuizen and Jacob van Deventer, travelling eastward. Four of them —Daniel de Vries, Jan de Bruyn, Jan van Vuuren, and Coenraad Scheffer—joined this party. The other three—Hendrik de Vries, Hendrik Scheffer, and Jan de Vries—

came on to the Cape, where on the 10th of July 1737 the two first-named gave an account of their journey in the form of an attestation.

No other particulars concerning the three Englishmen than those here given are to be found in the colonial records. But it is almost certain that they, with three very young English girls, several Indians, and possibly others, escaped from a vessel wrecked near the mouth of the Lwambasu river some time between the years 1720 and 1730. The name of the ship, where she was from, and all else concerning her must remain among the many mysteries with which the Kaffir coast in olden times was associated. The people who landed from her, however, intermarried with Bantu, and their descendants are numerous at the present day.*

* Traditions can never be depended upon as accurate in detail, and though in this instance there is other testimony, it is not possible to trace with absolute certainty the early history of these people. In 1790 an expedition that was sent to look for survivors from the wrecked ship *Grosvenor* met three very old white women at a kraal of mixed breeds on the bank of the Umgazi river in Pondoland; but unfortunately learned nothing of their career. They could speak no other language than Kaffir. Thirty-eight years later traditional stories concerning them first began to be collected. Several individuals of half European blood were still alive, and the persons who questioned them were men of intelligence and education. Some were found who remembered having seen the remains of a hut built of ship's timber by the wrecked people on the shore near the mouth of the Lwambasu. Yet no two of the narratives collected agreed in detail, even in such a simple matter as the number of persons saved. Thus a half-breed woman informed Major Dundas that eleven men and two girls beside her mother got safe to land. Another half-breed informed the reverend William Shaw that the men saved were two in number. The reverend Stephen Kay was told that six persons in all came out of the sea; two white men, one black man, and three white girls. In 1828 the people of mixed breed were living on the bank of the Umtata river, near the sea. Among them were some showing traces of Indian descent. A little later, owing to wars in the country, the party broke into two. One section, under a captain named Nogaya, who was a great-grandson of one of

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Governor De la Fontaine was now advanced in years, and infirmities were creeping upon him. He was a widower, his wife having died in June 1730. He had children for whom he desired the advantages of a residence in Europe, and from whom he did not wish to be separated. During the twenty-eight years that he had served the Company he had amassed considerable wealth, and it had become a longing with him to spend the evening of his life in repose in the fatherland. In 1736 he applied to the directors for permission to retire. They heard of his resolution with regret, for he had performed his duties to their satisfaction; but his request was so reasonable that it could not be refused. They therefore appointed the secunde Adriaan van Kervel as his successor, and promoted Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel to be secunde. The retiring governor was permitted to hand over the administration whenever it should please him to do so, and to return to Europe with his rank and salary. On the 17th of June 1737 despatches to this effect were received at the Cape, and on the 31st of August Mr. De la Fontaine transferred the duties to Mr. Van Kervel. He remained in the colony until the month of March following, when he sailed for Europe as admiral of a fleet of five ships.

Governor Van Kervel had passed a great portion of his life in South Africa. From 1719 to 1725 he had been secretary to the council of policy. Then he became fiscal,

the white men, joined the Bomvana chief Gambushe, and moved westward. Their descendants are known as the Abelungu, and now live in the district of Elliotdale, a little beyond the mouth of the Bashee. The descendants of the other section are now called the Amatshomane, and are under the captain Dalasile, in the Mqanduli district, west of the Umtata. They derive their title from Tshomane, son of Matayi, a petty Pondo captain. This Tshomane took to wife one of the girls saved from the wreck, and had many children by her. Her Kaffir name was Gquma—roaring of the sea,—and she was one of the old women met by the expedition in 1790. With this section are the descendants of the Indians who escaped from the wreck.

and afterwards secunde, so that his experience was varied and extensive. He held the highest office in the land less than three weeks, and only presided in the council on one occasion. After a short illness, he died on the 19th of September 1737. As he had expressed a desire to his daughter that his funeral should be conducted without the usual state, the council respected his dying wish, and his remains were buried in the church between seven and eight o'clock in the evening of the 24th, the officers of government and principal burghers attending without the parade of draped banners, muffled drums, and minute guns. His widow, Aletta Corsenaar, was a confirmed invalid, suffering under mental aberration. He left three children: a daughter and two sons, the eldest of whom was a clerk in the Company's service, and the youngest was at school in the Hague.

CHAPTER XLIII.

DANIEL VAN DEN HENGHEL, FISCAL, ACTING GOVERNOR, 20TH SEPTEMBER 1737 TO 14TH APRIL 1739.
HENDRIK SWELLENGREBEL, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 14TH APRIL 1739, RETIRED 27TH FEBRUARY 1751.

ON the morning after Governor Van Kervel's death, the council met for the purpose of electing an acting head. There were six members present, and of these, two put forward claims to the vacant place. The secunde, Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel, was one. He based his pretensions on precedents, the custom having invariably been that upon the death of a governor the second in command had acted until the pleasure of the supreme authorities could be known. It was true he had only been secunde nineteen days, but that did not affect his position, for, as he had been a member of the council of policy for thirteen years, he had ample experience.

The independent fiscal, Mr. Daniel van den Henghel, claimed the appointment, on the ground that he had been a senior merchant longer than Mr. Swellengrebel. He had been in the colony since March 1731.

The question was put to the vote, when Messrs. Nicolaas Heyning and Christoffel Brand were found to favour the fiscal's claim, while Captain Jan Tobias Rhenius and the secretary Ryk Tulbagh supported the secunde.

Hereupon the fiscal objected to Mr. Tulbagh having a voice in the matter, because he was married to Mr. Swellengrebel's sister, and must therefore be prejudiced in his favour.

The secretary replied that the right to vote had never before been disputed on such grounds. He had been a member of the council of policy for nine years. During that time he had always voted according to his conscience, and he would continue to do so.

The others maintained Mr. Tulbagh's right, upon which the master of the warehouses, Mr. Brand, proposed that as the members were equally divided and no decision could be arrived at, the lot should be cast. This was agreed to, when, the result being in favour of the fiscal, he took the vacant chair.

During the nineteen months that Mr. Van den Henghel acted as governor only one event occurred that is worthy of notice. That was a petty insurrection which took place early in 1739.

A party of ten Europeans, living north of Piketberg, setting the law against dealing with Hottentots at defiance, proceeded to a kraal of the Great Namaquas on the southern bank of the Orange river, and bartered a large number of cattle. They remained at the kraal a full month, and were on the most friendly terms with its occupants. But after they left to return home, their coloured servants went back stealthily, fell upon the Namaquas, and robbed the kraal of all its cattle.

Two of the plundered people then proceeded to Capetown, and complained to the government of the treatment they had received. Thereupon the Europeans were summoned to appear before the landdrost's court at Stellenbosch, and the whole of their stock, including the recently bartered cattle, was summarily impounded to prevent concealment. Some individuals who had not been with the traders, but who were suspected of being in league with them, were similarly dealt with.

This proceeding created a good deal of excitement among the people of Drakenstein as well as of the country farther north. The acting governor was regarded as a harsh unsympathetic man who was inclined to rule in

a highhanded manner, and there was a general feeling that the law which debarred the colonists from trading with the Hottentots was oppressive and could be evaded without moral wrong. The persons summoned declined to appear before the court, and raised an outcry that the landdrost's messenger had acted in excess of the law in seizing their cattle before it was proved that they had been engaged in the forbidden traffic. The matter was referred by the landdrost to the fiscal, who investigated it, and found that the Hottentots had ample cause for complaint. As many of their cattle as could be recovered, including those obtained in barter by the traders, were therefore restored to them, and they were taken under the Company's protection. At the same time the landdrost's messenger, who was found to have acted with unnecessary harshness, was replaced by a more prudent officer.

A summons was then issued for the Europeans to appear before the high court of justice and answer for their conduct in ignoring the constituted authority. But, as on the former occasion, they did not comply. A turbulent individual named Estienne Barbier, by birth a Frenchman, who had been in the Company's military service and had risen to the rank of sergeant, but had deserted from the castle during the night of the 24th of March 1738, and had since been living on the farm of the widow Cellier at Drakenstein, represented to these persons that he possessed great influence in Europe, and induced them to place themselves under his leadership. His object was to attain such a position that he could make terms with the government.

On Sunday the 1st of March 1739 Barbier, accompanied by eight others—Hendrik Kruger, Lodewyk Putter, Frans Kampher, Arnoldus Basson, Hendrik Ras, Jan Olivier, and Sybrand van Dyk, all mounted and armed, and Hans Ras, unarmed and on foot—appeared before the door of the church at the Paarl as the congregation was

leaving after service, when Sybrand van Dyk requested the people to listen to the reading of a placaat. This document was the joint production of Barbier and another of the disaffected party named Peltsholt, and was written in very corrupt Dutch. In it Mr. Van den Henghel and the landdrost Pieter Lourens were accused of tyranny, corruption, favouring Chinese and Hottentots above Europeans, and other misconduct, and the farmers were advised not to pay any more taxes. After Barbier had read the document, Van Dyk, with the assistance of some women among the listeners, pasted it on the wall of the church. There was such a strong feeling of sympathy with its contents that no one remonstrated, and the party rode from farm to farm that afternoon unmolested.

The document was blown from the wall of the church that evening, and was secured by the landdrost's messenger, who forwarded it to the fiscal in Capetown. It is still to be seen in the records of the court of justice. Some other seditious papers were written aud circulated by Barbier, and so confident were the disaffected persons in their power to maintain their independence that one of them, Jan Ras, delivered at the castle gate a circular disowning the authority of the acting governor and the landdrost, though two of the cattle barterers, Matthys Willems and Pieter de Bruyn, who appeared openly in Capetown, had been arrested, and were then in prison.

Barbier was now proclaimed an outlaw, and instructions were given to the landdrost to have him seized and brought before the high court of justice, or, if resistance was made, to shoot him.

Just at this time a horde of Bushmen made a raid upon the scattered farmers of Piketberg and the Bokkeveld, murdered two Europeans and several slaves, set fire to some houses, and swept off large herds of cattle. There had not been many complaints of these wild people of late years, the only instances being in 1728, 1731, and 1738. On the first of these occasions, December 1728, a

party of Bushmen drove off the cattle from the farm of Jan Valk near Piketberg. Valk's neighbours assembled and pursued the robbers, who offered resistance when they were overtaken. Two Europeans were wounded, but a volley of slugs put to flight all the Bushmen who were not struck. The cattle were recovered, except two oxen. The government approved of the action of the colonists in following the robbers and firing upon them, but directed the landdrost to be careful that no provocation was given to Bushmen who did not first offend. In March 1731 some of those people drove off a herd of cattle from the farm of Hans Potgieter, but were pursued by twelve of Potgieter's neighbours, who hastily assembled and formed a commando. The robbers were overtaken, when some of them were shot, and the cattle were recovered. In 1738 other Bushmen drove off the stock of August Lourens, but were followed up, and the cattle were retaken without any bloodshed. By direction of the council of policy, the landdrost and board of militia of Stellenbosch then sent a discreet farmer to endeavour to enter into a friendly agreement with the Bushmen, and presents were made in hope of inducing them to abstain from robbery.

The farmers of the frontier had no confidence in the success of such treatment, and when the raid took place early in 1739 they were seized with a general panic, fearing that the government would again try to conciliate rather than punish. Most of them in consequence abandoned their farms and fell back towards the Cape.

The government, however, acted in a different manner. The old burgher councillor Jan Kruywagen was instructed to raise a commando and follow up the marauders, and all who had joined Barbier were offered pardon if they would take part in the expedition. Fifteen of them accepted the offer at once, and the remainder shortly afterwards. Barbier managed to keep in concealment for a few months, but was eventually apprehended. On the

12th of November he was tried and condemned to death, and two days afterwards was executed. After the barbarous manner of that time in Europe as well as in South Africa, his right hand was first cut off and then his head, and after death his body was divided into portions, which were affixed to posts in different parts of the country.

This attempt at insurrection, petty as it was, was long afterwards used as an argument by a strong party in Holland, as well as by many officials of the East India Company, against an enlargement of the colony by sending out emigrants from Europe. A strong colony, in their opinion, would certainly in a short time throw off the control of the mother country and declare itself independent.

When intelligence of the arrangements made at the Cape for carrying on the government reached the Netherlands, the directors expressed their disapproval, because they considered the secunde the proper person to assume the chief authority upon the death of a governor. They therefore sent out instructions that Mr. Van den Henghel should return to his office of independent fiscal, that Mr. Swellengrebel should take the place of governor, and Mr. Ryk Tulbagh that of secunde. The first copies of the despatches containing intelligence of this decision were brought to the Cape by an English ship, and gave much satisfaction to the colonists, who regarded Mr. Swellengrebel with more favour than his rival. The changes took effect on the 14th of April 1739.

Mr. Van den Henghel remained in the colony as fiscal until the 18th of September 1741, when he was relieved by Mr. Pieter van Reede van Oudtshoorn, who was sent out by the supreme authorities. A few months later he returned to Europe as commodore of a squadron of four vessels.

Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel, who now became governor, was by birth a South African colonist. His father, Jan Swellengrebel, was a Russian, born at Moscow, who entered

the service of the Dutch East India Company, and appears first in the Cape records as a clerk at the castle in 1694. His mother was born in South Africa. She was a daughter of the explorer Hieronymus Cruse, who rose from the ranks to the position of a military captain in the early days of the settlement. The governor was the first-born child of Jan Swellengrebel and Johanna Cruse. He had two sisters, the eldest, Elizabeth, married to Mr. Ryk Tulbagh, and the youngest, Johanna Catharina, married to the reverend François le Sueur. He had a younger brother also, Jan Balthazar by name, but of him little or nothing can be learned in the Cape records.

At an early age Hendrik Swellengrebel entered the Company's service in South Africa, and rose gradually from one position to another, though he was not possessed of any extraordinary ability. He was honest and industrious, however. In 1727 he married Helena Wilhelmina ten Damme, by whom he had a family of eight children.

When he took over the administration an armed burgher force was being raised to punish Bushman marauders. But some of the farmers who were called out by the old councillor Kruywagen refused to act under him, and his commando was too weak to accomplish the purpose for which it was raised. In attempting to expel the Bushmen from a mountain, a number of men, including the commandant, were wounded, and one was killed. A stronger force was then raised, and took the field in two divisions, some soldiers having previously been sent to occupy temporary stations in the disturbed districts, where the families of the men on commando could be protected. In August one of the marauding bands was defeated and some cattle were recovered, only one burgher being killed. Reinforcements were then sent to the front, and in October more than sixty Bushmen were killed and upwards of thirty others were wounded. A party of Europeans, who were searching along the coast for a ship that was supposed to have been wrecked, shot

from thirty to forty more. The Bushmen then agreed to terms of peace. On the European side during the latest operations three farmers were wounded in action, and two—Jan Engelbrecht and Philip Meyer—were surprised and murdered.

In September 1740 the leaders of these Bushmen, to whom the Dutch had given the names Waterboer, Anthonie, Dragonder, and Klein Jantje, with a small following visited the castle, where they were well treated, and acceptable presents were made to them when they left.

It was hoped now that these people would cease committing depredations upon the colonists and live at peace. The blame for the hostilities that took place was always thrown upon them, and their heavy losses in dead were regarded as righteous punishment for their crimes. But there is another point from which this matter can be viewed, when the conduct of the Bushmen will not appear so atrocious. It was with them a question how they were to live. The colonists were encroaching constantly upon their hunting grounds, their fountains were appropriated and their game was destroyed, without any thought of wrong being done to them. They could not retreat inland without encountering foes of their own race. To enter the service of the colonists was really their only chance of survival, but this was beyond their comprehension, and would have been almost as much opposed to their inclination as death itself. They could not adapt themselves to their new environment, they tried to live as their ancestors had lived, and therefore they were fated to perish. The wave of European colonisation was not to be stayed from rolling on by a few savages who stood in its course.

From time to time regulations were issued for the preservation of harmless wild animals, and for the destruction of beasts of prey. In November 1739 the reward for killing a lion was reduced from £3 9*s.* 5*d.* to £2 1*s.* 8*d.*, for a leopard from £2 1*s.* 8*d.* to £1 5*s.* 0*d.*, and for a hyena from 12*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* 4*d.* Half of these pre-

miums were paid by the Company, the other half by the burgher councillors if the animal was destroyed in the Cape district, and by the court of landdrost and heemraden if it was destroyed in the district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. In 1745 a regulation was made that in order to obtain the premium the dead animal must be exhibited at the castle or at the office of the landdrost. Previous to that date it had been paid on exhibition of the skin, but at this time it was suspected that some unprincipled persons were bartering furs from the Hottentots at a distance.

The elephant had nearly disappeared from the settled districts, owing to the demand that existed for ivory. In July 1737 elephant hunting beyond the eastern border was prohibited, owing to the massacre of Hubner's party. The love of gain was, however, so strong that in the following October the prohibition was cancelled, and the only restriction placed upon elephant shooting was that each hunter should pay two shillings and a penny for a license. In the license it was forbidden to molest Hottentots or Bantu, or to trade with them.

In 1742 an order was issued prohibiting the destruction of zebras under a penalty of £10 for each offence. The remarks of the members of the council of policy with regard to the extirpation of this animal show that they could look at the question in a broader light than that of mere profit. Its presence on the hillsides, according to them, was an attractive feature. They thought also that it could be tamed, and with a view of making an experiment, they offered a premium of £20 each for three young ones to be delivered at the castle.

Hippopotami, rhinoceroses, elands, buffaloes, and antelopes of all kinds were being killed in great numbers for the sake of their flesh and their hides, and were already becoming scarce in the settled parts of the country. General orders were often issued before 1753 regarding their preservation, and in that year a regulation was made

that no large animal, except of a carnivorous species, should be shot by any unlicensed person; but such orders and regulations had little or no effect, for they could not be enforced far from a seat of magistracy.

On the 25th of January 1742 Mr. Adriaan Valckenier, who had resigned the office of governor-general of Netherlands India on the 6th of November 1741, arrived in Capetown as admiral of a homeward bound fleet. He was in ill health and had to be carried on shore. There were grave charges against him, in connection with disturbances at Batavia in October 1740 in which several thousand Chinese lost their lives, and in connection with the arbitrary arrest and deportation to Europe of three councillors of India, Messrs. Van Imhoff, De Haze, and Van Schinne. The directors were therefore anxious that he should not get beyond their jurisdiction, and sent out an order to arrest him if he should make his appearance in South Africa. This order arrived during the night of the 10th of February in the English vessel *Swift*, and in the following morning it was carried into effect by Captain Alleman. Mr. Valckenier was detained in Capetown until the 12th of August, when he was placed on board the outward bound ship *Sara Jacoba* to be taken back to Batavia. In the castle of that city, where he had once held supreme power, he remained a prisoner nearly nine years, while the charges against him were being investigated, and he died in confinement on the 20th of June 1751, before his trial was concluded.

The baron Gustaf Willem van Imhoff, who was among the councillors named above, was appointed governor-general by the directors, and subsequently proved himself one of the ablest and best men who ever filled that office. On his way to Batavia in January 1743 he called at the Cape, and was installed here with much ceremony. He made a short tour of inspection in the country, and instituted an inquiry into the condition of the farmers, the result of which was very unsatisfactory.

The only churches in the colony were at the Cape, Stellenbosch, and the Paarl. These were at the time all provided with clergymen, the reverend Willem van Gendt having been sent out by the directors and stationed at Stellenbosch in December 1738. At each of these places there were schools, but everywhere else the education of children was greatly neglected, being in most instances entrusted to no more competent a teacher than a soldier engaged for a short term. There were over four hundred leasehold farms or cattle runs, some of which were three or four days' journey from the nearest church, so that the attendance on public worship was frequently neglected for long periods. The governor-general consulted the clergymen François le Sueur and Willem van Gendt, who recommended the establishment of more churches and schools. At this date the European population of South Africa consisted of about four thousand colonists and fifteen hundred servants of the Company with their families.

The governor-general called the members of the council of policy together, and issued certain instructions. Two new churches were to be erected in the outlying districts with as little delay as possible, and at each were to be stationed a clergyman and a comforter of the sick, the latter of whom should also act as schoolmaster. The clergymen were to be detained from the first Indiamen calling at the Cape with chaplains on board.

A comforter of the sick was also to be sent without delay to labour among the scattered inhabitants beyond the Breede river. There was no one in the colony to whom it was considered proper to offer this post, but on the 9th of May 1744 the ship *Ouwerkerk* arrived in Table Bay from Middelburg with a very competent sick-comforter, by name Abraham Schietekat, on board, and he was transferred to Grootvadersbosch to open a school and conduct religious services. His wife, Isabella Breyart, and his two children were in Middelburg, but were sent out by the Company at the earliest opportunity.

The places selected for the new churches were the sites of the present villages of Tulbagh and Malmesbury.

The first was the most convenient place of meeting for the farmers occupying the country on that side of Riebeek's Kasteel, the land of Waveren or present Tulbagh Basin, the Warm Bokkeveld, and the valleys of the upper Breede and Hex rivers. It was beyond the first range of mountains, but was accessible by a road over the Roodezand pass, not far from the ravine through which the Little Berg river flows, and where the railway now enters the Tulbagh basin. The course of the old road can still be clearly traced, and a formidable rock that nearly blocked up the passage is yet an object of interest to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch used frequently to spend an hour or two trying to devise some means of getting rid of this rock, but they never succeeded in their object. Some few years after this date the Roodezand pass was abandoned, and a rough waggon road was made through the ravine which is the gateway of the valley at the present day.

A site was selected along a gentle slope, where water could easily be led on, and here the foundations of a church and parsonage were laid without delay. The original buildings are standing yet, the parsonage, which is partly constructed of materials imported from Holland, still serving the purpose for which it was designed. A few weeks after the governor-general's instructions were given, a ship put into Table Bay, having on board as chaplain the reverend Arnoldus Maurits Meyring, who was detained for duty here. He preached at the Cape for the first time on the 31st of March 1743. The reverend Hendrik Kock had returned to Europe in February 1742, and Mr. Meyring was therefore kept at the Cape as assistant clergyman until the parsonage at Waveren was fit for occupation. He held the first service there in September 1743, but the regular duty was not begun until

some months later. On the 8th of October 1743 a consistory was established, when Jacobus Theron and Pieter Theron were approved by the council of policy as elders, and Jacobus du Pré and Gerrit van der Merwe were selected as deacons from a double nomination. Before 1795 the place had no other permanent inhabitants than the clergyman, the sick-comforter, and the sexton. In that year a number of building sites were sold along the present Church street, and a small village then gradually arose. The locality was known simply as Roodezand's Kerk until 1804, when it received the name Tulbagh.

There was a little difficulty in selecting a site for the second church. It was recognised that the situation in which it would be of greatest service was in the centre of the district known as the Zwartland, then as now the best wheat-producing tract of country in South Africa. But upon inspection it was found that there was no suitable place which was not already occupied as a farm. At length the widow of Pieter van der Westhuizen made an offer, which the council of policy accepted on the 16th of June 1744. She received in exchange for her farm another which she had previously selected, and the congregation paid her a sum of money equal to one hundred and seventy-four pounds sterling for the buildings. A sick-comforter, Wietse Botes by name, who was serving on board a ship in the bay, was thereupon transferred to the church place, and opened a school at once. On the 9th of May 1745 an agreement was made with the reverend Rutger Andries Weerman, chaplain of a passing ship, and he became the first pastor of the congregation. A consistory was formed on the 8th of July, when Pieter Venter and Gerrit Olivier were chosen as elders, and Jan Loubser and Floris Smit were appointed deacons. The church place was known as Zwartland's Kerk until 1829, when it received the name of Malmesbury.

Close by is a hot mineral spring, like those which are found in many other parts of South Africa, and which

are used by persons troubled with rheumatism and some other diseases. But even with the advantages of a central situation, a church, and a mineral bath, besides having no mountain barrier between it and the Cape, the site was not an attractive one. The ground is very uneven, and the colonists of those days were partial to tolerably level surfaces for building upon. There is no permanent stream of water which can be led out for household purposes and to irrigate gardens, the supply in summer being obtained from wells. Further, the belief was general that the brackish soil, though capable of producing the finest wheat in the world, was unfit for the growth of trees, a matter always of primary importance in a Dutch village. This belief had some slight foundation, but of late years it has been put to the test, and the trees now flourishing in the streets of Malmesbury and on many farms in the district prove that with industry and care the defects of the soil can be overcome.

At the request of the consistories the council of policy gave them permission to hold a combined meeting for the purpose of proposing boundaries between the five parishes. On the 30th of August 1745 there assembled for that purpose four clergymen, the two elders of the Cape congregation and one from each of the other churches, the four deacons of the Cape and one from Stellenbosch. Mr. Ryk Tulbagh presided in the capacity of political commissioner. The assembly settled parochial boundaries, subject to approval by the council of policy, and resolved to meet thereafter on the third Monday of every January to arrange matters of common interest.

Both in the Netherlands and in South Africa this proceeding met with opposition from many persons, who thought that such meetings might tend to too much independence, or that they might lead to the introduction of error. The assembly was so indiscreet as to style itself a classis, a term synonymous with presbytery, though it

was evident that as the clergymen were merely chaplains of the East India Company, the authority attached to a presbytery could not be exercised. The classis of Amsterdam, in calling its attention to this fact, suggested that it should adopt the title of combined church meeting, and after 1748 it was known by that name.

In its yearly sessions the matters discussed were trivial, because it was powerless to deal with anything of importance. Its opponents, too, were continually watching to entrap it, and at length found the opportunities they were seeking. The reverend Mr. Cloppenburg, who was sent out in 1746, was leading a notoriously evil life, and the combined church meeting proceeded to deal with him, not as if it had the power of a classis, but as if it had power to investigate such matters and send its recommendations to the government. This was regarded in Holland as usurping authority to which it was not entitled. A few years later it forwarded a copy of its proceedings to the synod of South Holland, without having received permission to do so, which seemed to the directors to indicate an insubordinate spirit, the custom sanctioned by them having been to send a duplicate of the records to the synod of North Holland only.

Instructions were hereupon given to the Cape government to prevent such irregularities, and on the 13th of March 1759 the council of policy issued orders that put an end to the sessions. The reasons assigned, apart from the charge of insubordination, were that the meetings were serving no useful purpose, and that the travelling expenses of the clergymen and elders were burdens too heavy to be borne by the congregations.

Thereafter each consistory dealt with matters affecting itself only, the government had control in all matters not relating to doctrine, and the classis of Amsterdam examined the qualifications of clergymen before they were sent out by the directors, gave advice in questions of discipline and procedure, and acted as a court of appeal

in questions affecting adherence to the rules of the church.

The changes in the staff of clergymen doing duty in the colony were frequent. Mr. Le Sueur, having purchased a farm at Rondebosch in the estate of his wife's father, Jan Swellengrebel, was obliged to resign his position in the Company's service, and in August 1746 was succeeded by the reverend Ruwardus Cloppenburg, who was sent out by the directors. Three weeks later the reverend Petrus van der Spuy arrived from Holland to fill the post of second clergyman at the Cape, which had long been vacant. Mr. Cloppenburg's domestic life was such that in January 1748 he was suspended by advice of the consistory, and in March of the same year was dismissed by the council and sent back to Europe without rank or salary. Mr. Van der Spuy then remained for some time sole clergyman of the Cape congregation, but was greatly assisted by Mr. Le Sueur, who was very highly esteemed, though in accordance with the law he could not draw a salary from the Company while he was owner of more than two morgen of land.

In October 1744 Mr. Van Gendt died, from which date the church at Stellenbosch was without a resident clergyman until September 1747, when the post was filled by the reverend Edward Arendsen, who was sent out by the directors. Mr. Arendsen died in July 1749. Mr. Van Echten, of Drakenstein, was then required to act as consulent of Stellenbosch until the directors could make another appointment.

In December 1748 Mr. Weerman, of Zwartland's kerk, at his own desire was transferred to Batavia. The congregation remained without a clergyman until August 1750, when the reverend Christiaan Benjamin Voltelen arrived from the Netherlands, and took over the duty.

Dissenters were still prohibited from holding public services. There were many Lutherans at the Cape, and they were anxious to have a resident clergyman, but

could not obtain permission from the government. In 1742 a strong petition of theirs was refused. No objection was raised to Lutheran chaplains of Danish ships holding service in a private house, but this was the utmost liberty that was granted.

Another instance of the same kind of treatment occurred in connection with a Moravian missionary who came from Germany to this country to attempt to convert the Hottentots to Christianity, and who established himself for that purpose at Baviaans' Kloof, now Genadendal, in the district of Stellenbosch. The first mention of this missionary is found in a letter from the directors of the chamber of Middelburg, dated 3rd of December 1736, in which the council of policy was informed that in accordance with a recent resolution of the assembly of seventeen a free passage to the Cape was granted to him, and as he might be blessed as an instrument for the conversion of ignorant and barbarous heathen, or at least for bringing them to a more moral and better mode of living, the directors required the council to afford him such assistance as he might need. The next reference to him is found in the proceedings of the council of policy of the 11th of July 1737, in which it is stated that "a certain person named George Schmit had come here in the ship *Huis te Rensburg*, with the object of converting the Hottentots to Christianity, if that should be possible; that it was to be hoped such a desirable result would be attained by the blessing of the Lord upon the means to be employed, so that those people might be brought to the true knowledge of God; and therefore all possible assistance was to be given to the said person in the prosecution of that meritorious work."

It was contemplated that if any Hottentots should be converted to the Christian faith the missionary would present them to the clergyman of the parish for baptism, and that he would not attempt to form a separate congregation with rules differing from those of the Dutch

reformed church. He collected a party of Hottentots, with whom he laboured for five years, doing his utmost to teach them the doctrines of Christianity and the advantages of a settled industrious life. All this time he met with nothing but kindness from the government, but when in 1742 he baptized five of his converts he was immediately called to account.

On the 4th of September of that year the matter was discussed by the council of policy. Schmit's authority to administer the sacraments was examined and found to be a document signed by the head of a foreign society, which the council ruled could not be held to have any force in South Africa. The missionary was therefore forbidden to baptize any more, but he was advised to continue instructing the Hottentots, in which work his great zeal was admitted. The clergymen of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein were requested by the council to draw up a report of the circumstance and submit it to the classis of Amsterdam for instructions.

The report of Messrs. Le Sueur, Van Gendt, and Van Echten, dated 26th of September 1742, is still preserved in the records of the classis.* In it they not only related the circumstances, but expressed their own views very fully. The Hottentots, they stated, were neither sufficiently instructed in Christian principles nor far enough advanced in orderly living to be fit for baptism. Schmit being an unordained man, baptism by him, they contended, was invalid, and if he took upon himself to administer one sacrament he might do the same with regard to the

* The archives of the classis are kept in an apartment off the assembly chamber of the consistory in the Nieuwe Kerk on the Dam at Amsterdam. The chamber, which contains appliances for writing, is hung with portraits of the leading reformers. Through the kindness of the reverend Dr. G. J. Vos, in whose charge the archives are, I had an opportunity of examining them. Those referring to South Africa are in an excellent state of preservation, but the series is incomplete. It commences with a report from the sick-comforter Pieter van der Stael, who arrived at the Cape on the 5th of March 1656, and closes with the overthrow of the Dutch administration.

other. His conduct in this respect was contrary to the law, which did not permit of public services except those of the established church. They were desirous of the extension of Christianity, however, and therefore requested the classis to recommend the directors to send out a sick-comforter of the Dutch reformed communion to perform the work of an evangelist among the Hottentots.

The tenor of the clergymen's report was made public in South Africa as soon as it was drawn up, and in course of time it became known that the classis of Amsterdam agreed with the views expressed in it, though the evangelist asked for was not sent out.

This decision seemed to the missionary to make his position, if not quite untenable, at least very unpleasant. In his account he says that he thought it very absurd that he should teach the Hottentots and send them for baptism to ministers who made no efforts for their conversion. But now he had to contend against popular prejudice, for his conduct caused many of the colonists to regard him as a heretic, and it came to be generally believed that the Moravians were fanatics who held wild views of Christianity. The people whom he had collected together left him, probably out of love of change, though he believed it to be owing to representations by neighbouring farmers that the religion he was teaching was not that of the bible. He complained of this to the council, and instructions were sent to the sergeant in command of the military post close by to inquire carefully into the matter, in order that any one hindering him in his good work might be brought to account; but the people who had dispersed could not be collected together again.

Under these circumstances Schmit found himself incapable of effecting any good, and he therefore requested permission from his Society to return to Europe. He hoped that upon his representations the Moravian body would be able to obtain from the directors a reversal of

the order concerning baptism, and that he might return to South Africa with assistants to carry on the work. The Society acceded to his request, and on the 28th of January 1744 he appeared before the council of policy and asked for a free passage in one of the Company's ships to Holland. This was granted, and he returned to Europe. But the directors refused to permit any other church than the Dutch reformed to be established in the colony, and therefore the Moravians were compelled to abandon their benevolent enterprise.

To prevent the recurrence of such heavy losses as the Company had sustained by shipwrecks in Table Bay, in 1741 the directors resolved that their fleets should thereafter refresh at Simon's Bay from the 15th of May to the 15th of August, the season when gales from the north-west were common. The time of sailing from the Netherlands and the Indies was so arranged that under ordinary circumstances there would not be many ships in our seas during that period, but storms and unavoidable detentions had to be taken into account. Simon's Bay offered secure shelter during the winter season, but there was a drawback to its use in difficulty of access by land, which made the supplying a ship with fresh provisions very expensive. In 1742 it was first used as a port of call, when it was found that in fine weather boats could ply from the head of Kalk Bay, thus shortening the land carriage considerably.

In February 1743 a site for a station was selected by the governor-general Van Imhoff on the southern shore of the bay, and in the following month a commencement was made with the erection of a building to serve as a magazine, a hospital, and quarters for the party in charge. A few soldiers were stationed there under command of Sergeant Justinus Blas, who had the title of postholder. In course of time a small village was built, which was occupied by fishermen and people who depended for a living upon the shipping, some of whom resided there

only during a portion of the year. It took its name from the bay, being called Simonstown.

The establishment was at first conducted in the least expensive manner possible, for the directors had resolved to make an experiment with the construction of a mole or breakwater in Table Bay, and should this succeed, the other port would not be needed. The mole was commenced on the 4th of February 1743. As it was considered a work of importance to the colony as well as to the Company, a special tax was levied upon all the Europeans in South Africa, Company's servants and burghers. Those in the Cape district were assessed at the labour of one hundred and fifty-three stout slaves for two months in the year, and those in the country at £293 6*s.* 8*d.* in money or provisions. All the Company's slaves and all the waggons and cattle that could be spared from other work were employed upon the mole. A strong gang of convicts was sent from Batavia to assist in its construction.

The general direction of the undertaking was entrusted to Messrs. Johannes Carolus de Wet and Jacobus Möller, the first a retired burgher councillor and the other the head of the Company's naval establishment at the Cape. They gave the mole a base of thirty metres and a half in breadth, sloping upwards to seven metres and a half at the top. By the close of 1746 it was one hundred and seven metres in length from the shore; but the work was then suspended, owing to the destruction of vegetation by a plague of locusts. In the meantime the convicts sent from Java had nearly all died from change of climate and excessive fatigue, and the burghers declared that they could not pay their quota any longer. The expense was found to be beyond the means of the Company, and the completion of the mole was abandoned. As far as could be judged, it promised, if carried out to a sufficient length, to protect the bay without causing it to silt up. The water remained at its original depth on the inner side,

while on the outside a bank of sand had formed, which strengthened the work. It is now certain, however, that such a mole as was then in course of construction, if carried out sufficiently far to protect ships at anchor, could not have withstood the force of the tremendous waves driven in before a north-west gale, and would have been broken down, when probably the anchorage would have been damaged. There were no appliances at the Cape in those days for removing huge masses of rock or for moulding and depositing enormous blocks of concrete, such as have been used in recent times in harbour works in South Africa.

The abandoned mole, after being beaten down by storms and waves, and serving as a quarry for buildings in its neighbourhood, is still to be seen like a reef running out from under the present lighthouse, its site having ever since been called on that account Mouille Point.

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